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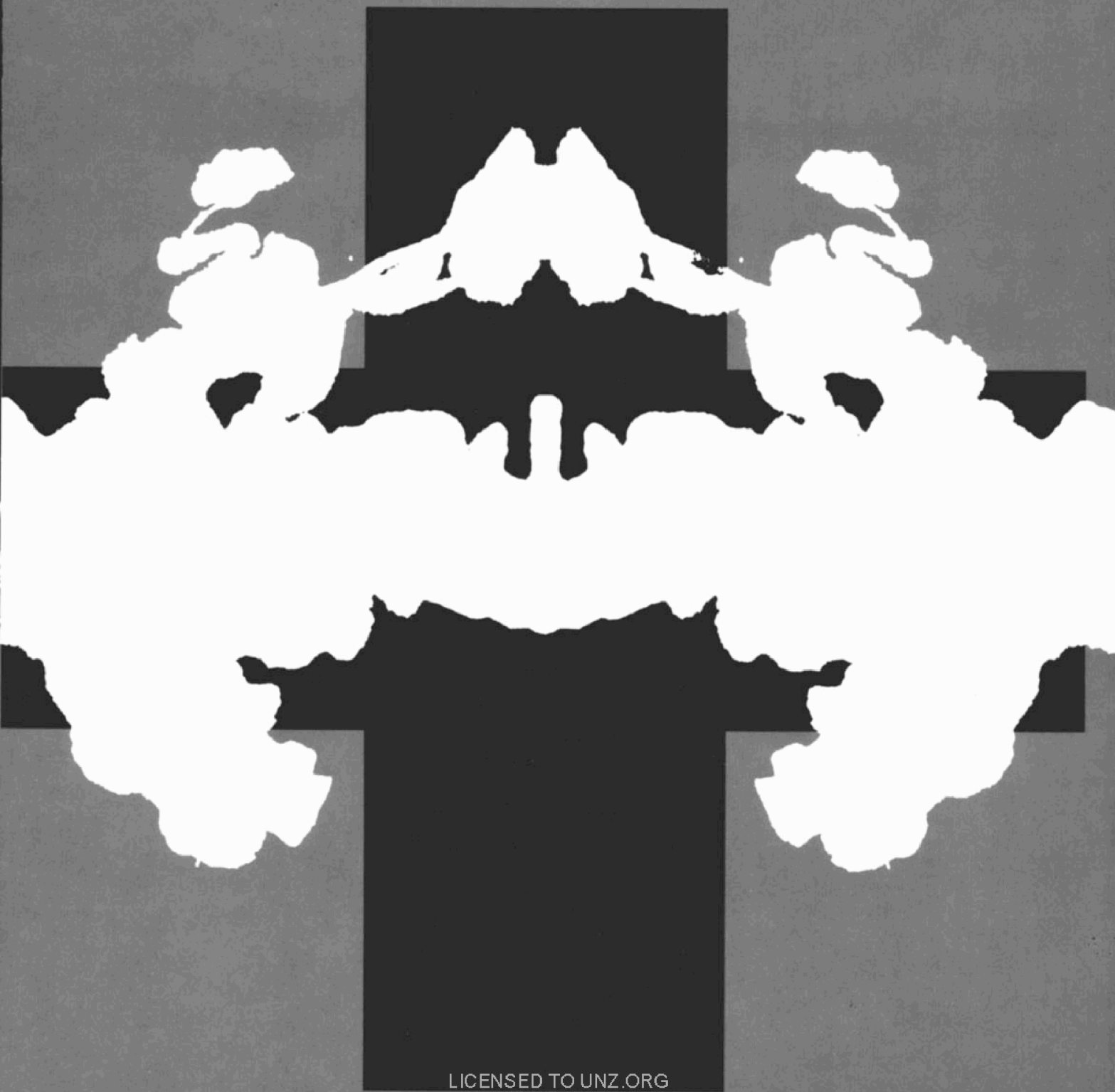

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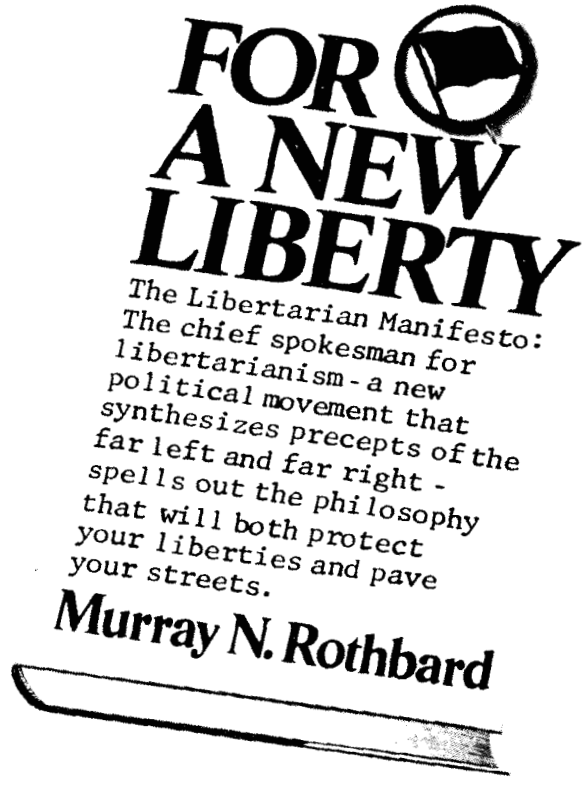
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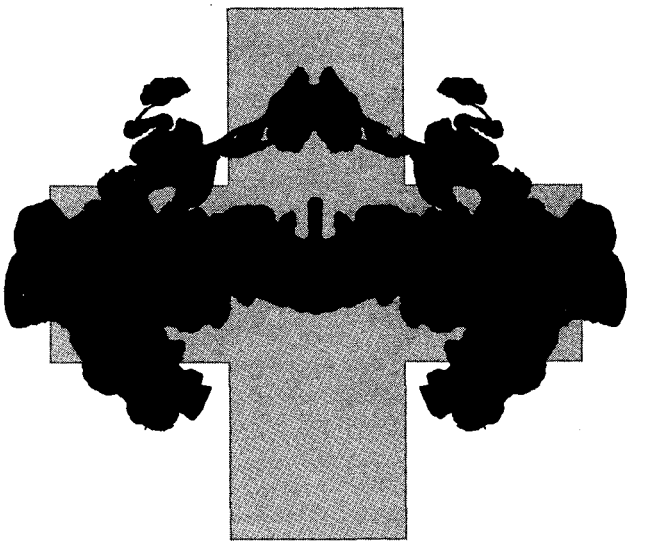
Is Mental Illness a Myth?

M L Zupan



For some time now the concept of mental illness and its corollary, an alliance between medicine and psychiatry, have come under attack from various sources. Dr. Thomas Szasz has been one of the first and one of the most outspoken of the critics. It will be the purpose of this paper to critically examine his book *THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS*[1], which Szasz considers fundamental to much of his later work. I will try to show that the arguments he presents against the mental illness concept are, in the last analysis, inadequate and that there are important shortcomings in his alternative theory of behavior. I shall also consider some of the implications of his position for several traditional problems in the field of psychiatry.

I want to make it clear that what I am *not* taking issue with is Szasz's point, made in *THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS* and brought out emphatically in subsequent publications, that involuntary commitment of mental patients is an abuse of the human right to liberty. Dr. Szasz instigated and contributed a great deal to the recent changes in some of the laws violating that right. Although he would probably disagree, I think that is a separate issue and ought to be argued on a different basis from the contention that "mental illness" is a myth—it therefore does not stand or fall with the arguments for the latter.

THE FORM OF SZASZ'S ARGUMENT

Before approaching the reasons Szasz offers for rejecting "mental illness" as a myth, it is important to understand the objectives he has in mind and his view of science. Szasz is arguing from within two current movements in the field of psychiatry, one of which is to emphasize the moral and ethical nature of human behavior. His position is (along with others who argue in this direction) that the psychiatrist should make his values explicit in the therapeutic situation. He further contends that the notion of mental illness is used as an obscuring label for what are really conflicts of everyday living, i.e., *ethical* conflicts.

The second movement with which he aligns himself is the current attempt to bolster the scientific foundations of psychiatry and psychology. There is considerable confusion these days within both as to what it means to be scientific in a study of human beings. Szasz clearly argues against reductionism. He not so clearly argues for a "liberal empiricism" (p. 92) by which a diversity of methods and languages is considered appropriate for science because of the diversity of subject matter from one discipline to the next. I contend it is "not so clearly" because this is the extent of his explicit discussion of the matter. Implicitly empiricism means, for him, adherence in science to observables which are publicly verifiable. It is my point here merely to state his position because it has a bearing on his treatment of the subject, e.g., what we can say about causes of human behavior, what constitutes the subject matter of psychiatry (and psychology), and the relevance of "subjective" as opposed to "objective" symptoms.

How does Szasz's conviction that "mental illness" is a myth tie in with his ethical and scientific orientation

Ms. Zupan, a student of psychology and the history and philosophy of science, has reveiwed books for several publications and helped interview Dr. Szasz for a forthcoming issue of REASON.

for psychiatry? According to him the particular scientific framework of traditional medicine, with which psychiatry is identified through usage of the concept "mental illness," necessarily determines the scientific basis and precludes the ethical aspects of psychiatry. So if we agree that psychiatry should be (in some way) both scientific (in its own right) and ethical (value-oriented), then we have only to further agree that both are conditional upon divorcing psychiatry from medicine. The premises and conclusion of this argument are tied in with Szasz's major point that there is no such thing as "mental illness": it is a myth, and therefore has no place in science; it is a mask for ethical problems, and should therefore be abandoned; if indeed there is no such thing as mental *illness* then, again, psychiatry has no place within medicine. So there are two broad issues to be considered here, first, whether the purportedly necessary relationship between medicine and psychiatry obtains and, second, whether Szasz's contention that "mental illness" is a myth is well-founded.

MEDICINE AND PSYCHIATRY

Szasz's objection to considering some of man's behavior within the "confines" of medicine arises because he insists that to speak of psychiatry as a branch of medicine is to *identify* the two in every significant respect. Then, since medicine is grounded on the principles of physics and chemistry, psychiatry must be also. The latter is thus necessarily tied to a conceptual framework inappropriate for a scientific study of *man.*

This view depends on erroneously uniting two aspects of the concept of medicine. We can think of medicine as entailing both "treatment" and "(treatment) of what"; there is no *necessary* relationship between treatment as such and some specific object being treated. To say that medicine (physical) is treatment and corresponds to a body of scientific knowledge and to further assert that psychiatry is treatment *is not to say that it is dependent on the same knowledge or facts.* In other words the relationship between medicine and psychiatry need not be (and *is* not) one of identity in specific content or method.

Of course we cannot ignore the fact that a number of psychiatrists have preferred to limit themselves to the physicochemical framework of medicine with their belief in the eventual discovery of organic bases for all mental illness. But this is neither a necessary nor universal outcome of the assertion that psychiatry can be considered a branch of medicine which offers treatment for certain dysfunctions.

A second argument given is that the physicochemical framework of medicine commits psychiatry to a deterministic model of causality, thereby ruling out significant aspects of human behavior, namely, choice, responsibility, and valuation. This point is again dependent on Szasz's insistence on the *identification* of psychiatry and medicine. On this basis if one is to look for the cause of a behavioral disorder which is presented in a medical (i.e. psychiatric) situation, one is committed to looking for an organic, or at least a physical-mechanical (hence deterministic), explanation.

But if we recognize that psychiatry is not necessarily based on physics and chemistry because of its medical association, then we do not have to choose Szasz's solution, which is (in order to avoid determinism) to dismiss causality from psychiatry altogether. According to him if we re-define the problem in terms of different languages (instead of "mental illness"), then there is no need to search for causes. To understand another language we view it from the standpoint of learning and meaning, not causes and treatments. But there are problems with this dismissal, for we may not seek causes if, for example, a man grew up in France and speaks French, but if he grew up in Italy and we observe him speaking French we are inclined to look for causes.

Admittedly the idea of accountability and responsibility for one's actions and how this relates or cannot relate to the notion of mental illness is a fundamental issue for psychiatry. The problem for Szasz is that he implicitly accepts the Humean model as the only model of causality. In this he is like the behaviorists. Of course he differs from them in that he finds this model inappropriate to an explanation of human action. He therefore rejects it for psychiatry, but because he accepts *only* this one model of causality, this rejection leads him to deny the possibility (or appropriateness) of considering causes in a discussion of human action.

However, if causal explanations are ruled out by re-defining the problem, it becomes difficult to talk, as Szasz wants to, about choice and responsibility. The latter concepts are dependent on the notion of personal causal efficacy in regard to one's own actions. And this is one *kind* of causality.[2] So the alternative to determinism which Szasz offers is of dubious value for bringing ethical considerations into psychiatry.

Related to the above is Szasz's point that "psychiatrists cannot expect to solve ethical problems by medical methods" (p. 8). Underlying this is his contention that all so-called mental illnesses are really problems in living, i.e., ethical problems. Even if we accept this, what constitutes "medical methods" remains unclear. If he means to argue against the organicists who hope to eventually solve all mental illnesses by medical means or against such things as the present increase in prescribing mood-changing drugs, then he has a point. But his implication is that

all psychiatrists who practice as doctors or in a medical situation are, and should not be, using "medical methods" (all of traditional methods? some of them?).

Szasz presents Freud as a prime example of the above: "Problems in living . . . were thus treated as though they were manifestations of physical illnesses" (p. 75). *But just the opposite* is the case. Freud, in the problem of hysteria with which his work began, took the apparent manifestations of physical illness and treated them as though they arose from conflicts in life situations. He used the "talking cure" which is not a traditional medical method. And for the most part psychiatrists, although they regard what they treat as illness, primarily employ other methods than those characteristic of physical medicine. So it seems that Szasz is demolishing a straw man.

On the basis of the arguments presented it is not necessary to disengage psychiatry from medicine, particularly as regards the scientific foundations and the specific methods of the two fields. The issue of whether our use of "mental illness" and "responsibility" are mutually exclusive is less conclusive. However, it is not impossible to think, even in some illnesses of the body, of the person being directly or indirectly responsible or culpable for bringing on or encouraging his own illness. So a tentative proposition might be suggested, that although the tendency has been to greatly overuse "mental illness" as an excusing concept, it is possible to re-think this without discarding the notion of mental illness.

IS MENTAL ILLNESS A MYTH?

The greater part of Szasz's effort to debunk "mental illness" is spent in an attempt to show that it has no valid scientific foundations; it cannot be rationally justified; it is a myth. The arguments for this conclusion can be summarized in these four points: 1) Since what psychiatrists really deal with is "problems in living" they should stop talking about "mental illness" and re-define their field; 2) Psychiatry began with the studies of hysteria by Charcot and Freud, who classified it as a disease for social and historical, i.e., nonscientific, reasons; 3) In the classification of hysteria as mental illness logical distinctions were obscured and epistemological errors made, and the same type of errors are perpetuated in subsequent classification; 4) "Mental illness" does not denote a disease entity; use of the concept is therefore an attempt to explain "problems in living" in terms of a myth.

I will not deal with the second argument since it relies on psycho-historical explanation. That is a kind of deterministic model itself and defeats one of the purposes given by Szasz for arguing against "mental illness." In addition, its importance is unclear since the "scientific" status of a theory, model, or type of explanation does not rest on the historical factors involved in its origin.

A note is in order here regarding Szasz's use of conversion hysteria as the paradigm of mental illness. He contends that whatever can be said about hysteria "pertains equally, in principle, to all other so-called mental illnesses and to personal conduct generally" (p. 9), since the diversity of mental illnesses is analogous to the diversity of languages. There are several difficulties with Szasz's choice of paradigm. (a) Hysteria is not a "typical" mental illness in that it (uniquely) involves functional disorder of the body. It is somewhere between uncomplicated physical illness and uncomplicated mental illness. As such, what is concluded about its correct or incorrect classification as mental illness may not be particularly relevant in a consideration of the general validity of "mental illness" as a category. (b) Szasz hopes to bridge this gap by comparing the diverse mental illnesses to languages. Although he develops in great detail and with some success the idea that hysteria is (is like? we're not quite sure) a language, it is never clear how we are to take the step from this to all mental illnesses are (are like?) languages.

At many points Szasz tries to underline his thesis by showing that the issues can be (and therefore should be) re-stated in terms of his own theory that behavior is communicational and rule-following and game-playing. Since Szasz offers his own model not only as an alternative to take the place of the one he is attempting to invalidate, but also as supporting reason for abandoning it, much of his argument depends on its explanatory value. This will be taken up later, but some of its shortcomings will become apparent already in looking at his arguments against "mental illness."

RE-DEFINITION

First, we are to see that "mental illness" is a myth by examining what it is that psychiatrists do. The traditional definition of psychiatry is: the branch of medicine dealing with disorders of the mind, including neuroses and psychoses. But what psychiatrists really do is "communicate with patients by means of language, nonverbal signs, and rules" (p. 3). Thus his characterization of psychiatry: the discipline whose method is communication—in its broadest sense (p. 3). More formally, psychiatry "consists of the study of personal conduct—of clarifying and 'explaining' the kinds of games people play with each other" (p. 7), and is differentiated from psychotherapy, which consists of the alteration of human behavior.

There are several problems here. First, Szasz takes the

"Although the tendency has been to greatly overuse 'mental illness' as an excusing concept, it is possible to re-think this without discarding the notion of mental illness."

value of the first definition to be its reference to methodology rather than subject matter; it is an operational definition and therefore scientific (p. 2). But physics and biology, e.g., are defined in terms of subject matter, not the physicists' or biologists' methods or tools of study and intervention. Operational definitions are used *within* a science but defining the discipline itself is an extra-scientific problem. What Szasz hoped to accomplish with this move was to do away with the subject matter of the traditional definition.

His second definition, rather than excluding the subject matter, re-defines it as personal conduct (games). The problem with this is that is obscures an important distinction between psychiatry and psychology by including in the former all of behavior rather than the abnormal. Thus the traditional definition of psychology (the science dealing with the mind and mental processes, feelings, etc.) is ignored and implicitly done away with also. A strategic move for Szasz because in this way, with no opening left to talk of mind, mental processes, etc., there is no opening to talk of something going wrong there, i.e., of mental illness.

According to Szasz "personal conduct *may be studied fruitfully* by considering man's 'mind' mainly as a product of his social environment" (p. 13, emphasis added). This turns out to be a position much like that of the behaviorists who contend that, at least for the purpose of scientific study, the mind of man, if it exists, is a *by-product* (for the reductionists, a by-product of physical processes). So we can't talk about the influence of mind on body or body on mind or mental illness. There are only different languages, different games. The latter are descriptions of directly observable behavior and it is in keeping with Szasz's notion of science that this is the proper subject matter of psychiatry-psychology.

Granted that there are problems with the one-sidedness of the subject matter designated by the traditional definition [3], excluding the defining characteristic of human beings rather than expanding the definition to include more aspects is not the best solution. In any case this re-definition with no mention of mind or mental processes does not show that "mental illness" is a myth. It merely defines it out of existence, at the expense of some important distinctions.

THE LOGIC OF "MENTAL ILLNESS"

There are several examples by means of which Szasz tries to show that "mental illness" is a myth because its logical foundations are in error. The first of these is based on the logic of classification: if illness is a class of phenomena, say *A*, then there must be a class of non-*A* (some of these may look like *A* but turn out not to be) and a class of counterfeit-*A*, "similarity in appearance being deliberately created by a human operator for some purpose" (p. 39). The use of hysteria as a paradigm is crucial to Szasz's point here, because although it may look like physical illness (*A*) it has no organic basis and must logically be distinguished from *A*. So it is a logical error to place hysteria, as *imitation* of illness, in the class of illness itself.

For this to be so we must accept two assumptions made by Szasz: (1) that there are only two options in classifying someone who exhibits symptoms of physical disorder: "a person who complains of bodily symptoms may be a 'sick patient' or a 'healthy malingerer' " (p. 39), and (2) that Charcot and Freud, in classifying the hysteric as ill were in fact placing him in the *same* logical class as those with physico-chemical disorders of the body. But Charcot and Freud recognized that hysteria only appeared to be physical illness; they did not illogically place it in class *A* (physical illness), but in a special class of non-*A* (non-physical illness) called "mental illness." Before their time hysteria was more or less considered one with malingering (counterfeit-*A*). However their distinction between the two rested on the logical fact that not all non-*A*, and not even all imitations of *A*, are counterfeit-*A*.

A second example based on the logic of classification is the later development in psychiatry of classifying malingering itself as mental illness, a move which Szasz contends denies the possibility of imitation, i.e., counterfeit-*A* is accepted as *A*. Again this reflects his refusal to accept mental illness as a distinctive category in the class "illness." If we call physical illness *A* and mental illness *B*, and further distinguish within both various kinds of illness (A_1, A_2, B_1, B_2, etc.), then, e.g., B_5 is malingering, i.e., deliberate imitation of another kind of illness. This does not deny the possibility of imitating, but proposes that in certain situations, (we would distinguish between the faked illness of children playing hospital and that of a man who hates his job) conscious imitation of illness is not, by a given standard, the appropriate way to deal with a problem.

Szasz also wants to show an epistemological error at the base of Freud's theory. To explain conversion hysteria Freud relied on a physical model of energy

discharge. Says Szasz, "no such complicated explanation is required" (p. 82); the problem is "epistemological rather than psychiatric. In other words there is no problem of conversion unless we insist on so framing our questions that we inquire about physical disorders where, in fact, none exist" (p. 83).

It is Szasz's conviction that the traditional mind-body problem can and should be avoided in psychiatry: "We shall not regard the relationship between the psychological and physical as the relationship between two different types of events or occurrences, but shall rather consider it to be akin to two different modes of representation or language" (p. 83). Accordingly, Freud's physical model of energy discharge should be replaced by thinking of what happens in terms of translation from one language to another.

There are two objections to this: (1) The error to be seen in Freud's thinking is pointed up by reference to Szasz's own theory ("it should be re-phrased this way because it can be"); and (2) We are still left with the problem of explaining by what means a nonphysical problem is changed into physical bodily "language" which can be distinguished from "real" body "language" (real physical illness). Because he objects to Freud's mechanical explanation, Szasz maintains that it is an epistemological error to seek explanation for an "apparent" mind-body problem. His thinking here can be traced to his contention that there is no place for (causal) explanations in psychiatry.

"MENTAL ILLNESS" AS DISEASE ENTITY

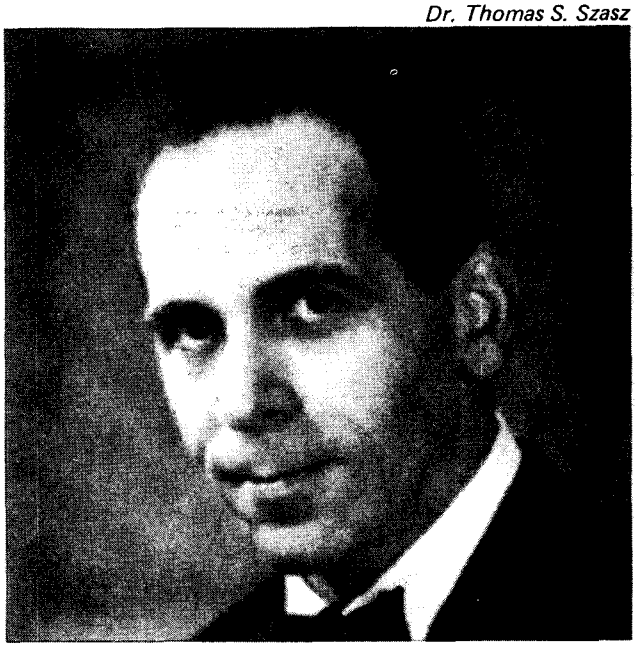
There are two aspects to Szasz's argument that "mental illness" does not denote a disease entity, one medical-logical and the other social. First of all, Szasz chooses to define "disease entity" as bodily disorder (pp. 101-02), thereby ruling out any other than *physical* disorder as well as any other than *physical* entities counting as disease. In any case, his position that physical illness, e.g., the common cold, denotes "an entity found in nature" whereas hysteria (and mental illness in general) is "an abstraction or theoretical construct made by man" (p. 88) is erroneous. The common cold is not "an entity found in nature"; it is not, as Szasz implies, an observable phenomenon, *although its symptom-complex is.* "Common cold" is a term, such as "hysteria," under which its specific symptoms can be subsumed. The crucial difference, of course, is in the nature of the symptoms, a point which Szasz does not discuss. (After all, if there is no such thing as mental illness then there are no *symptoms* of mental illness.) Instead he bases his argument on a discussion of physical symptoms (again his choice of paradigm is crucial), but of physical illness.

Szasz carefully points out that in physical medicine there are three types of symptoms: bodily complaints, bodily signs, and empirical evidence of functional or structural alteration of the body. "Illness," logically, is an inference from some combination of these, generally including the last. But he makes a crucial jump here. The logic of medical diagnosis requires the last type of symptom as a justification for inferring that the patient's complaint in fact indicates organic disorder, *not, as he argues, as a verification of the first type of symptom.* In analyzing hysteria Szasz assumes that since there is no organic basis for the patient's complaint, the referent of the complaint, e.g., pain, is not real; the patient is lying. (Note his bias: only publicly observable evidence counts.)

This is why he says that Freud made an epistemological error in inquiring about a *nonexistent* physical disorder, and that hysteria is *only* imitation. Freud, and psychiatrists in general, do not commit the logical error of inferring organic disorder only on the basis of the "subjective" evidence of bodily complaint; *they do not infer organic disorder.* They do however accept the patient's report of pain, and finding no organic basis for it infer that it requires psychological explanation.

From a social analysis, too, Szasz believes we can conclude that the terms "hysteria" and "mental illness" do not denote a disease entity. "Actually they arise from and reflect characteristic features of the social matrix of the therapeutic situation" (p. 296). To support this he compares medical systems in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, showing that in the first instance the psychotherapist is the patient's agent whereas in Russia the physician is the agent of the state. He then cites statistics of increasing diagnosis of mental illness in the United States in contrast to a high incidence of malingering in the

Dr. Thomas S. Szasz



"It is Szasz's conviction that the traditional mind-body problem can and should be avoided in psychiatry."

Soviet Union. From this he concludes that "mental illness" reflects a social condition, but not a disease entity.

In the first place there is an assumption that the same "somethings" are being presented in the two countries and are only being diagnosed differently. Second, he is interpreting a high statistical correlation of two phenomena as evidence for a causal relationship, in this case, that agent-pattern determines diagnosis-pattern. Third, is the assumption that social conditions can tell us something about the nature of the subject, i.e., whether there is a disease entity that can be called "mental illness." But this is like drawing conclusions about the intelligence of children by looking at the various types of education provided them because of varying social contexts. Neither on the basis of this social argument nor of the logic of diagnosis can we conclude that "mental illness" does not refer to a disease entity.

This concludes the discussion of Szasz's attempt to show that "mental illness" is a myth. Without ignoring that Szasz has touched upon some of the crucial problems which complicate our use of the concept, e.g., personal responsibility and the deterministic model of causality, his arguments do not support the conclusion that "mental illness" is a myth, i.e., nonexistent or illogical.

HOW VIABLE IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

Szasz proposes three explanatory models to replace the current mental illness concept (and to explain all of human behavior). They are the sign-using, rule-following, and game-playing models. He offers a detailed analysis particularly of the first, showing the types and functions of language (signs) and relating hysteria (as paradigm) to these and to specific social rules. He then shows how hysteria can be considered a game. Since he sees it as the most comprehensive model, I will point out some general objections to game-playing as a theory of behavior, then discuss the implications of his explanation in two areas: intention and personal responsibility.

First, any model borrowed from an existing field of distinct activity cannot adequately serve to explain those activities which fall outside the original. That is the problem with virtually all game theory models, so it is not exclusive to Szasz's discussion. Then, games simply differ from behavior in general by virtue of the freedom we enjoy in making up the rules of a game, while we lack such freedom in devising a successful way of talking and dealing with, say, the circulatory system or the stratosphere. (So, as has been suggested, behavior might better be compared to fire-fighting than to games, the former being an activity that is varied and yet rule-bound.) Finally, this entire emphasis on the concept "game" is open to question because it relies on a philosophical heritage (Wittgenstein's discussion of "language" and "game"[4]) which is a problem area in its own right—so surely not to be taken for granted.

Szasz defines the game situation conventionally, as "characterized by a system of set roles and rules considered more or less binding for all of the players" (p. 7). But many human activities involve only one person. (Some, like Wittgenstein, have argued for single-party games. What they seem to be saying is that we can play the above, but not that by playing we automatically engage in a party game.) It is questionable even whether most *inter*actions occur in the context of mutually understood, let alone binding, rules.

If game-playing is to explain all behavior, it is not enough either that we can see the behavior as directed toward a goal or as following some rules. Otherwise how can we distinguish between accidentally going through the motions of a particular game, and actually playing the game? Ordinarily we would have to ask the players; i.e., to be playing a game according to "rules considered binding" the players must *know* the rules and *be aware* that they are game-playing.

Then, even within an ordinary game there are actions which cannot be understood by reference to the rules alone. A chess player's moves but not his skill may be understood by rules; or the rules of tennis prescribe what actions are to be taken, but not what grip is best. There are also activities during a game which may be incidental or irrelevant, e.g., dropping a pawn or wiping one's forehead. If these are to be construed in the light of still other games (the rules of how best to hold one's racket or the rules for wiping) then this leads to an infinite regression. The same problem is encountered with one's reasons for playing the game and such things as the history of the game.

It is revealing to see some behavior as game-like and we commonly do this, e.g., "playing cat and mouse with each other." But this is a metaphor, meaningful only if there is some non-game-playing behavior to which we are comparing it. A metaphorical account loses significance when applied as a general theory.[5]

This is just a broad outline of some objections to

Szasz's theory. The assumption has been that an explanatory theory which seeks to relate phenomena to something already known must depend on the general understanding of at least the essentials of that thing. But the game-playing model ignores or distorts characteristic aspects of what is generally understood when we talk not only of games, but also of behavior. Perhaps one of the most crucial of these is the concept of intention.

Szasz, contrary to the traditional psychiatric view, maintains that hysteria is *willful* imitation of illness. This is dependent on his seeing the hysteric's symptoms as strategy, i.e., moves in a game. That there are results of the symptoms is undeniable (e.g., he may receive sympathy); that these are the intended aims and goals, that they are part of a *game,* where the players are aware of the rules and goals, is another matter. But note Szasz's prejudice toward this interpretation of *all* behavior: "If it appears that human beings are not so engaged [in purposeful, goal-directed activity], it is useful nevertheless to assume that they are and that we have been unable to comprehend the goals and rules of their games" (p. 14). Now there are difficulties with this, but most human behavior can be seen to achieve *some* goal, and, since Freud, it is plausible that many of these are not explicitly known to their holders.

The problem for Szasz lies in his failure to make the distinction between goal-directed and/or rule-following, and game-playing, i.e., strategic, behavior. He wants to extend the notion of the goal-directedness of most behavior and say that to reach any end is to have made moves in a game-strategy. We are uneasy with this interpretation when we find the player(s), as in hysteria, unable to avow either the point of the "game" *or* the rules which are supposedly being followed.

Szasz attempts to get around this difficulty by imputing *unconscious* intention to the strategies of the mentally ill. But "feigning," "impersonating," "cheating," "lying," and even "strategy" depend for their meaning on the concept of conscious action. It becomes even more complicated when Szasz refuses to discuss the difference between "conscious" and "unconscious," insisting instead that it is more meaningful to talk about goal-directed and rule-following activity as opposed to making mistakes. This doesn't help because "goal-directed, rule-following" and "mistaken" are not descriptive of the same dichotomy as conscious-unconscious: since hysteria has been interpreted as game-playing "it is more accurate to regard hysteria as a lie than as a mistake" (pp. 142-43).

Szasz's ascription of "unconscious" to the intention of the mentally ill is thus of no practical significance other than to make his use of "strategy" more palatable. Whether or not the person is *aware* is then insignificant in determining whether strategy is involved. But recall that ordinarily, in difficult cases, we must ask the players if a game is in fact being played. In Szasz's treatment of "mental illness" the criteria becomes whether or not the behavior can be *interpreted by the observer* as achieving some goal, and if so, then it is to be assumed that rules are being followed, a game is being played, i.e., there is strategy intended, whether consciously or unconsciously.

This poses a difficulty because some actions have results which may *appear* to have been goals and involved strategy without this being the case. For example, good health can result from cycling without ever having been a consciously or unconsciously intended goal (I cycle because it is the cheapest transportation). And, crucial to Szasz's use of "unconscious intention," there are neither conscious nor unconscious strategies for improving health here. Another counterexample is the case where one accidentally performs a sequence of motions which could be interpreted as moves in a game by an observer; e.g., in the process of throwing out (discarding) a dart one may (accidentally) hit a perhaps unseen dart board. These exceptions make it questionable whether the idea that all behavior, even if goal-directed, is strategic (rule-following) and game-like has universal application, and Szasz's treatment of the concept of intention fails to help in making that point.

Szasz gets into this confusing position of calling the behavior of the mentally ill unconsciously willed in order to get away from the mental illness concept with its tendency to remove blame and responsibility for one's actions. However there is a paradox in his view of personal responsibility which is worth noting. On the one hand he criticizes Freud and the entire mental illness model for a deterministic view of human nature which "undermines the principle of personal responsibility . . . by assigning to an external source (i.e., the 'illness') the blame for anti-social behavior" (p. 297). On the other hand Szasz implicitly adopts a deterministic position himself. It is his belief that a game-playing theory can correct the defect of determinism in psychiatry: how this is to be accomplished is not made clear, except as noted at the outset—that determinism is avoided if causal explanations are avoided.

In some ways Szasz falls into an environmentalist position which implicitly entails a variety of determinism. Recall his description of man's "mind" as a product of his social environment. Then there is his view that whatever "language" one speaks, whatever game one plays, "each has its own 'raison d'etre' . . ., *because of the particular circumstances of the communicants,* each is as valid as any other" (p. 12, emphasis added). This turns out to be very similar to

Skinner's view that no one can be praised or blamed for any action because that "action" is determined by environmental contingencies. [6]

So there is this deterministic tendency and at the same time an indeterminism in Szasz's thinking, e.g., in that every game is equally valid. The latter tendency is based on the contention that ethics, i.e., the rules of behavior games, are arbitrarily devised (just as the rules of oridinary, e.g., chess, games), for they vary from one culture and era to the next. It has been argued often, but there are serious problems with the position that there is nothing more to ethics than arbitrarily agreed upon rules. If that were the case then there would be no way to identify, e.g., criminal "games" such as murder by objectively established criteria, and act accordingly, as even Szasz would advocate. (There are other explanations besides arbitrariness which account for variations between culture's ethics. Furthermore, the variations are more apparent than real.)

Szasz's attempt to explain even the hysteric's behavior with the game model, and then his assertion that every game is valid, begs a serious question, namely, whether there are objective criteria for evaluating any behavior. Then it becomes just as difficult to know what "personal responsibility" refers to in such an indeterminate scheme, as in a deterministic explanation of human behavior. The closest he comes to an objective standard of evaluation is to speak of maturity, i.e., "flexible integration of rules as behavior-regulating agencies" (p. 180). However an "operational meaning" can be given to maturity only on the basis of "certain preferential values of a given society" (p. 288). Again the indeterminism. And one wonders where the rules come from. Part of the problem is that he speaks in passing of following one's *own* rules (p. 175) but doesn't integrate this into his general theory.

So in Szasz there is not a resolution of the problem with "responsibility" encountered in speaking of mental illness and health. And in general his alternative explanation falls short of adequacy. The conclusion that we reach is that "mental illness" ought not be discarded either because it is a myth, because on the basis of Szasz's arguments it isn't, or because the alternative offered provides a better explanation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] All quotations are taken from the paperback edition (New York, Dell Publishing Co. 1961) and are cited in the text by page number.

[2] Richard Taylor, *ACTION AND PURPOSE* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) for an excellent discussion of this view of human causality.

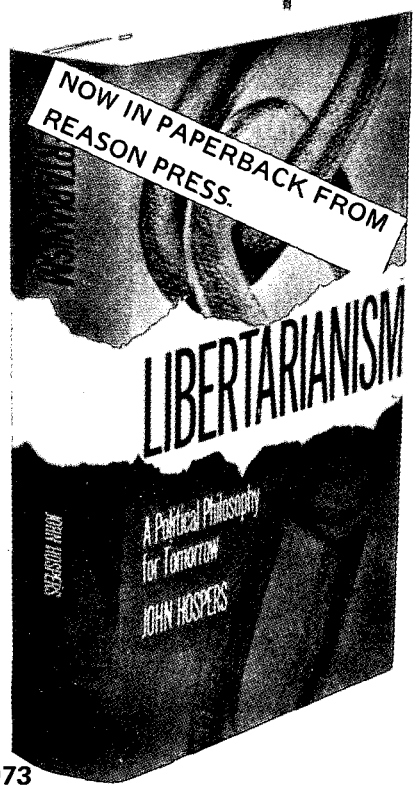
[3] For a discussion of this issue see Mortimer J. Adler, *WHAT MAN HAS MADE OF MAN* (London: John Calder Ltd., 1957).

[4] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *PHILOSOPHICAL INVESTIGATIONS* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953).

[5] A. R. Louch, *EXPLANATION AND HUMAN ACTION* (California: U. of California Press, 1969) provides a critical discussion of games and metaphors as explanations of human behavior, pp. 209-24.

[6] B. F. Skinner, *BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY* (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1971), *passim.*

The case for "the idea whose time has come" . . .



LIBERTARIANISM

BY JOHN HOSPERS, PH.D., DIRECTOR, SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
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The Pay-What-You-Want Tax Plan

John Zeigler

Everyone agrees taxes are unfair. For most people they're a back-breaking burden—a family earning $10,000 pays $4,800 a year in federal, state, local, hidden and excise taxes. Working one to three days a week for the government, in this way, is regarded by many as a sophisticated and subtle form of involuntary servitude. In the eyes of some, taxation is legalized theft—particularly when it funds programs those individuals oppose. Many small businessmen feel they are being squeezed unmercifully out of the market place by an unjust tax system.

Is there any realistic way to eliminate much of the abuse of our present system of taxation, without chaotically disrupting government? The SPEAK OUT! organization thinks this objective is attainable, by implementing its innovative proposal: The *PAY-WHAT-YOU-WANT TAX PLAN.*

THE *PAY-WHAT-YOU-WANT TAX PLAN* promotes more citizen involvement in the affairs of government. It makes taxation 80% voluntary. It better reflects participatory democracy than the current system, because, presently, Congress and the President can cut off each other's funds without consulting the guy who pays. Taxpayers remain, to a large extent, voiceless.

Budgets have become so astronomical that power plays by politicians seldom evolve around ideas but, instead, around the dollar.

SPEAK OUT! simply believes that alternative means and ideas must be devised so that power can be restored to the individual citizen. Our tax plan would not only make government spending more accountable, but would also democratically provide alternative solutions to many social issues. Although the description of this plan deals with its application on a federal level, it should be emphasized that the concept would apply also to state and local governments as well.

HOW IT WORKS: I. The Rebate Phase

1. The first year, 1974, you pay your *usual* tax based on the old system to give government agencies a grace period of 12 months to prepare for and adjust to any *possible* decrease in revenues from the plan when it goes into effect in 1975.

2. Let's assume that the tax you pay under the old plan is $2,000.

3. You simultaneously pay your 1974 tax *and* fill out your new Pay-What-You-Want tax form. Of course, you do not pay your 1975 tax fee until 1975, a year later.

4. The amount you pay on your new 1975 form is 20% less than your 1974 tax, or $1,600. This is because the entire federal budget has been reduced 20%—by law—and the savings has been passed on to you. This is why this phase is called the "Rebate Phase."

5. Your tax will be decreased 20% of your 1974 tax each year for four years. The amount you pay each year would be as follows:

YEAR:	YOU PAY:	% OF BUDGET DECREASE:	% OF YOUR TAX DECREASE:
1974	$2,000	0%	0%
1975	$1,600	20%	20%
1976	$1,200	40%	40%
1977	$ 800	60%	60%
1978	$ 400	80%	80%

6. You can choose to *keep* your net savings, or allocate all or part of it to one or more government agencies voluntarily, if you wish, in the "new" tax form.

John Zeigler is Executive Director of SPEAK OUT!, a non-profit, tax-exempt organization dedicated to helping people present their views about public issues in all media. He was the subject of an exclusive REASON interview, "Advertising and Social Change," in REASON's October 1972 issue.

7. Eleven broad categories of government departments would present, in this new tax form, their reasons *why* you should support their department with your voluntary payments. They would explain and justify their past and present records and performances and define their goals. *Opposing* points of view will *also* be presented, but more about this later.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GROWTH OR PHASE-OUT

The table above demonstrates the maximum amount that a given agency's budget could be depleted in the rebate phase. Since your 1974 tax is paid in full under the old system, and since the cutbacks are gradual, it should be evident that this is not an attempt to do away with any government function. In fact, it is an attempt to restore integrity, accountability and fiscal responsibility to government operations, and, under the pressure of the threat of potential revenue loss, spur them to more clearly focus on their objectives, methods, expenditures and eliminate waste and red tape. The plan will also require those agencies, who are somewhat unclear about their purpose, to develop ways to define themselves to the American public.

In addition, it can be seen that if each category of government is able to state its case persuasively, and with *reason* in the new tax form, and citizens voluntarily contributed enough dollars, some, or all, department revenues could *increase*—rather than decrease. The tax plan is *not* a choice between government providing services and no one providing these same services. The technology, skills, creativity and productivity of the market is ready and waiting in the wings to compete for citizens' newly acquired cash resources through the Rebate Phase and propose ways and means to provide these functions cheaper, better and faster. It may also be evident, from the "Referendum"Phase" described below, that Congress may decide to completely phase out a particular department because the public will have voiced, through the tax form, a mandate that it has outlived its usefulness.

II. The Referendum Phase

Through this second major phase of the plan, some government agencies would have an opportunity to recoup their 1975 20% budget cut. This phase also provides the means for the taxpayer to express preferences for particular agencies and guide Congress on appropriations for the following year on eleven government departments. It further enables taxpayers to not only cut the budget of an agency they do not approve of by an *additional* maximum 10%, but also add 1% to 10% to another agency or agencies whose functions they do want to support.

Let's examine how one department might gain or lose under the "Referendum Phase." The Department of Defense's current budget is $70 billion. On the basis of the 1975 automatic 20% cut in the "Rebate Phase", it would be $56 billion. Taxpayers could also choose to cut the department's 1976 budget another 10% to $50.4 billion. Other departments might have an opportunity to gain and divide that 10%. The table below shows how, if the Defense Department was "Department II", and all taxpayers voted alike, their budget would increase 1% under Option "A". Under Option "B", however, if all taxpayers voted alike, the Department of Defense would stand to lose another 10% on top of the 20% rebate cut. The taxpayer would have a variety of options to decrease or increase any specific agency's budget. The maximum decrease a taxpayer could subtract from any department would be 10%. The amount of the decrease could be added to another department (Option "A") or he could subtract 10% from all departments (Option "B"):

DEPARTMENT	MAXIMUM OPTION "A"	MAXIMUM OPTION "B"
I	- 10%	- 10%
II	+ 1%	- 10%
III	+ 1%	- 10%
IV	+ 1%	- 10%
V	+ 1%	- 10%
VI	+ 1%	- 10%
VII	+ 1%	- 10%
VIII	+ 1%	- 10%
IX	+ 1%	- 10%
X	+ 1%	- 10%
XI	+ 1%	- 10%

In between Option "A" and "B", of course, are a variety of many other options for allocations and subtractions as long as no government department is penalized more than 10%. The computerized results of your and all taxpayer preferences each year would compile a "priority" consensus to instruct Congress on how future tax revenues are to be allocated.

III. The "Public Debates Through the Media" Phase

Each government agency must allocate ½% to 1% of its total budget each year for four years to *public debates, through the media,* about the necessity of its expenditures. However, no more than ½% can be spent by a department on its own promotion. For example, if the Department of Defense's 1974 budget is its current $70 billion ½% of its total budget, or $350 million, will attempt to persuade the taxpaying public that the way it spends money is sensible. The department will utilize any media it believes best tells its story and persuades the taxpayer that it deserves their rebates and "vote" in the referendum.

It may also choose not to state its needs to the public through the tax form or through the media, and instead use the $350 million for departmental expenses.

On the basis of the fairness doctrine "equal time" concept, the remaining ½% or $350 million, must be provided to opposing groups (such as peace and anti-draft organizations) to present *their* side to the American public through the media. Their case, for instance, may be that funds should be totally or partially cut due to waste, inefficiency, incompetency or that the specific department be abolished. Program time or advertising could be bought jointly by both sides for the sponsorship of debates through broadcast programs or commercials or print ads.

Over $2¾ billion would be spent in this way if all *federal, state and local agencies* participated. If they didn't their survival, of course, could be threatened by opposition arguments. This total outlay, $2¾ billion, is more than half that spent for all commercial advertising. Yet billions are wasted each year by the government in overpayments in military contracts, interdepartment warfare, unnecessary paperwork, and inter-office memo writing to justify and protect bureaucratic responsibilities and civil service inefficiencies. This plan motivates these agencies to turn that kind of unproductive work into more important justifiable activity: defending themselves to the taxpayer and demonstrating that what they do is indeed worth the cost.

ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR A BETTER SOCIETY

Our proposal is more than a tax plan. It gives Americans an option for a more positive, democratic, productive, fair, voluntary and rational society. As an example, let's take public education on all levels—elementary, high school and college. Some Americans would undoubtedly choose to financially support the present system. Others would choose to utilize their rebates to shop for free market alternatives: private, religious, or public schools that offer more community control. But public education, with pressure of the rebates and referendum and with the new threat of competitive forces, would be compelled to improve; to become more productive, increase quality, and become more responsive to social and community needs.

There are other examples. With more individual control over the country's economic resources, wars could no longer be financed without taxpayer approval. Those who are too young to vote but are nevertheless taxed for their full or part time work would now have a voice in government affairs. Political promises to control crime would now have to be backed up with deeds instead of words, or citizens might use their rebates to buy private security guards.

More funds might become available to private drug and child care agencies if State agencies continued to fail in their efforts. If people really wanted a cleaner environment, they would now have the power, through their rebates and the referendum, to vote it in. If the American taxpayer is fed up with subsidizing pressure groups, and special interest groups, and tired of fattening the pockets of corrupt politicians and of those who collude with them, he now has an alternative to the powerlessness that formerly immobilized him.

"IT'LL NEVER HAPPEN"

That's the comment *SPEAK OUT!* hears most. These are other comments: "It's too logical, and too sane for an insane world" "People are so hopeless, so apathetic, so docile, so fearful, so despairing and so mistrustful they'll laugh at a plan that promises them more freedom. People don't want to be free. Freedom is too scary. They want to be manipulated, controlled and told, as children, what to do and what's best for them."

SPEAK OUT! has also been told: "You can't trust people to make decisions that are in their own best self-interest. You have much more faith in the ability of the American public to reason than I". It's true. *SPEAK OUT!* does hold people in high regard. *SPEAK OUT!* believes people do possess the capacity to exercise more control over their own lives and make rational choices through this tax plan. Through the media, people can speak intelligently and persuasively to each other and to the government; and government can speak rationally to them.

The plan has the endorsement and support of prominent thought leaders including Dr. Walter Block, Assistant Professor of Economics, Baruch College, C.U.N.Y.; Dr. Nathaniel Branden, Psychologist and Author; and Dr. Murray Rothbard, Professor of Economics, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; and others.

It is not possible to hold the answers now to all the detailed questions and objections that might arise about the plan and how it might affect thousands of programs and a complex giant bureaucracy that took over 200 years to create. That is a responsibility that should be shared by other groups, philosophers, economists, lawyers, sociologists and political scientists. If destructive patterns and institutions exist, *SPEAK OUT!*'s objective is to raise consciousness about these issues and help people present their views about alternatives via the media. *SPEAK OUT!* believes the *PAY-WHAT-YOU-WANT TAX PLAN* poses just such an alternative. ◻

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Who Are The Imperialists?

Paul Craig Roberts

Imperialism is one of the most widely discussed topics of this century. In its modern form, the term owes its currency to Lenin. Today it is one of the most popular words used by Western academics and intellectuals. The term is emotive and refers to the iniquity of the economically advanced countries of the West, who allegedly owe their prosperity to the exploitation of underdeveloped countries.

The idea that the West is responsible for the poverty of the "third world" is now widespread both in academic circles and the literature on economic development. It is a premise of international organizations such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Recently Gunnar Myrdal, the most well-known writer on economic development, has written a one million word political pamphlet elaborating on this theme.

After decades of this propaganda, today it is taken for granted by many that any Western company that has investments in an underdeveloped country is an imperialist. Even free trade between Western and "third world" countries is said to be a form of imperialism.

The voluminous writings about imperialism are a mask behind which hide the *real* imperialists. To unmask the real imperialists does not require one million words. I propose to do it here.

In some nations of West Africa there are state export monopolies, or marketing boards as they are officially described, that extend their control over practically all agricultural products. These boards were set up ostensibly to stabilize the prices received by private farmers. African farmers, if they wish to sell their crops, must sell to the state marketing boards at prices set by the boards. The boards in turn sell the crops on the world market. The original idea was that during years of high world market prices, the boards would hold back part of the proceeds from the producers in order to provide a reserve for years when world market prices were low. In this way incomes were to be stabilized.

When these state monopolies were introduced, categorical formal official assurances were given that the marketing boards would serve as trustees and agents for the private producers and that no money would be withheld overall from the farmers. In the words of the supporters of the marketing monopolies: "There will be no question of the boards making a profit at the expense of West African producers. On the average of a period of years, the average price paid to the producers will be equal to the average net price realized on world markets, and the boards' buying and selling transactions will, therefore, approximately balance."

INSTRUMENT OF EXPLOITATION

By 1962 between one-third and one-half of the commercial values of their crops were withheld by the state marketing monopolies from the producers in Nigeria and Gold Coast-Ghana. The total sum withheld exceeded two billion dollars! The political changes and upheavals in Nigeria and Ghana in the 1960s stopped the publication of consistent statistical information on the operations of the marketing boards, but the evidence indicates that the state marketing monopolies continue to be the instrument of exploitation of those whom they were ostensibly set up to help. What was supposed to be state help to private producers has resulted in prolonged large-scale confiscation of their incomes.

What has become of this huge sum stolen from the poorest elements of the populations by their own governments? Some of it was lost in currency devaluations, but much of it was transferred to cover current operating expenses of the governments. In effect a productive sector of the population, whose money incomes are minuscule, has been kept poor by being taxed at rates equivalent to those levied on American annual incomes of $50,000 to $140,000! The consumption and investment of West African farmers have been throttled in order that civil servants and government officials can enjoy relatively high incomes.

Paul Craig Roberts has taught economics at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Tulane University, the University of New Mexico, and Georgetown University. Currently he is a research scholar at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. Dr. Roberts is the author of two books and numerous articles in scholarly and professional journals in the United States and Europe.

This makes it clear why West African governments are such vociferous consumers of the anti-Western imperialist diatribes that originate in the West. It is always in the interest of indigenous government to support the argument that the country is exploited by *foreigners.*

The charge of imperialism was once a main weapon of Marxist-Leninists. But the use of this charge has been usurped by the West's own anti-Western intellectuals. It fits the purposes of advocates of world government and income redistribution between countries, and serves as a mask for the exploitation of Western taxpayers who are told they must assuage through foreign aid the alleged imperialist guilt. As Professor Peter Bauer of the London School of Economics has written in his monumental book *DISSENT ON DEVELOPMENT:*

> There are many people in the West who for various reasons have come so to dislike major institutions of Western society, especially the market economy and its corollaries such as private property, that they regard the radical weakening of these institutions as a major objective of policy. Many of these people, influential in the universities, the mass media and the international organizations, consider the underdeveloped countries as allies, or rather as instruments, in the promotion of their aims.

REAL BENEFICIARIES

The real beneficiaries of foreign aid are the international organizations, those who control political power in the recipient countries, those who staff the foreign aid agencies of the giving countries, and the Western professors who advise on economic development schemes. I once served in a state university as the academic replacement for a professor who had just purchased a $60,000 home and gone on an AID mission to India for two years. His pay for his mission to the poor was $30,000 per year plus expenses, and it allowed him to pay off his mortgage on his return. One of his colleagues had gone on a similar mission to South America and bragged to me that he had "salted away $30,000." Such "missions" which let academics save at annual rates of up to twice their normal incomes explain the great popularity among professors of foreign aid and all arguments that justify it. He who hasn't got his yet can hope to in the future. Western taxpayers who are assuaging "guilt" for the poverty of underdeveloped countries are fattening the pocketbooks of others, but the others are not the exploited farmers of West Africa. Indeed, the government-to-government grants that characterize "foreign aid" allow the recipient governments to consolidate and extend their exploitation of their own citizenry. The situation is made even worse by the fact that many of the African government leaders are products of Western universities and have little sympathy for the culture of those they govern.

It is clear that the state marketing monopolies are supported not by the producers whose incomes they confiscate, but by officials of governments and international organizations and their academic handmaids. As the boards came to accumulate huge reserves by exploiting the farmers, price stabilization gradually receded as the argument for their existence. Now it is said that the boards are necessary to raise taxes to finance economic development and to control inflation. In other words, the agricultural producers are going to be imperialized to the end. The marketing boards have even been supported by some on the grounds that they prevented the rise of a *kulak* class in West Africa, that is, the exploitation of the native producers by their own governments has been supported by some Western intellectuals on the grounds that it was necessary to prevent the emergence of a prosperous peasantry!

No one has explained why the economic development of West Africa should require the exploitation of private farmers, but it is apparent that the exploitative policy of the state monopolies has made private saving and investment by farmers difficult or impossible. The policy has obstructed the development of an African middle class and African private enterprises. The policy has retarded the growth of income of farmers and thereby reduced their demand for manufactured articles. Even more importantly, the policy has retarded the expansion of the production of cash crops and the development of a market system. In addition to these economic consequences, the concentration of power and money in the hands of government has increased the intensity of the political conflicts in Ghana and Nigeria.

The practice of many Western intellectuals of considering the peoples of the underdeveloped world as victims of external factors, especially of colonialism, masks the *real* imperialists—*the state marketing monopolies and the governments that sanction them.* Nevertheless, this practice has strong emotional appeal to liberals and enjoys the support of powerful vested interests. The supposed helplessness of people in face of outside forces serves as a basis for the advocacy of far-reaching policies of social engineering. Those who claim to have diagnosed the condition of the alleged victims claim the right and ability to remold the victims and their society. Gunnar Myrdal, for example, in *ASIAN DRAMA* makes a plea for an all-powerful government dedicated to remaking people and society, and he alleges that the more prosperous persons, groups and countries are responsible for the poverty of the rest.

This results in demagogy against the productive and

Time is running out. Are you?

It's easy to sit around theorizing about the ideal society. And tempting to stay huddled in cozy little study groups, talking only to each other, and playing little games of one-upmanship.

It's easy, too, to rationalize that kind of behavior. To say "the world isn't ready to accept the things we propose." Or "until we get the last tiny details of utopia worked out, we can't begin to implement our plans."

But every day you wait, the shadows of statism are growing a little deeper. The distances we have to go to reach that ideal society grows a little longer. And time grows a little shorter.

Three thousand people who believe in liberty aren't sitting around any more. They're working at changing things out in the real world.

Why don't you join us? Before it's too late.

Libertarian Party
Box 31638
Aurora,
Colorado 80011.

in the confusion of government with the governed. As a result, the *state* sector is termed the *public* sector and is contrasted with the *private* sector. This is Orwellian. State enterprise is private in the sense that it normally enjoys statutory monopoly, so entry is blocked and the public cannot participate. Private enterprise is open to all and is thereby public.

What has been overlooked is that government has its *own* interests—interests which are independent of any "public interest" or, for that matter, of any political party. The problem of government entering the economic sector is that it gives government—which is simply one other private interest—too much power over other private interests.

NATIVE GOVERNMENTS TAKE MORE

Since native governments produce less antagonism in their subjects than do colonial governments simply because they are not foreign, native governments can take more from those they govern than can foreign imperialists. It is not conceivable that any colonialist or foreign imperialist could levy taxation on the American population at rates equivalent to those of their present personal and corporate income taxes. And no foreign colonialist today could withhold between one-third and one-half the commercial values of the crops of native African producers. If we take this into account, it is conceivable that the citizens of every country would be better off economically if governed by a foreign imperialist. Indigenous imperialists can get away with more simply because they are indigenous.

Indigenous imperialism has been obscured by an assumption underlying the economic theory of public goods which asserts that governments act not in their own interests but in the interests of others—the "public interest." Economists who use the "public interest" assumption to analyze the state sector simultaneously assume that other organized groups and individuals act in their self-interest. This dichotomy in the economists' assumption about behavior protects indigenous imperialism under the mask of benevolence. The real imperialists go scot free while Western experts on economic development fatten their pocketbooks and West African native farmers are exploited. Economic development is retarded, and the lack of progress is taken as evidence for more foreign aid which further entrenches the power of the indigenous imperialists.

The rationale for the marketing boards is clear. They result from the cult of state power which serves the material interests of a new class of planners, academics, state functionaries, and international civil servants—a class which appropriates the wealth of others under the guise of the "public interest." These salaried do-gooders are the new imperialists. ◻

The Right to Withhold: Does It Exist?

John D Ockert

Accompanying the sundry throngs fixated on attention-snapping gambits, available to provide philosophical and political indigestion to inquiries of whatever bias, has been the cool, keen, penetrating, analytical intellect of the Director of Research of the Ockert Research Institute—Ockert himself. For a long time he and others have suffered with each curtailment of freedom each encroachment of bureaucracy, each tenuous tentacle of tortuous tenacity constricting the individual's power of choices. Others too have noted, protested, written and orated in vain. Like some self-perpetuating Juggernaut the bureaucracy rolls on—accumulating size and power, reaching into more and more facets of persons' lives, voiding increasing areas of privacy—even to the required viewing on demand of rectum and/or vagina by customs officials suspecting contraband. Ockert feels there should be an "I" of a difference between public and pubic interest. Total financial disclosure is the presumptive right of the Bureau of Infernal Revenue and the literature is replete with the records of human sacrifices exacted from those whose capitulation to their demands was made with excessive hesitancy. Yet this economic strangulation technique was adopted straight from the pen of Karl Marx, The Godless Father.

Protection is supposedly offered by surrounding the citizen with monitoring electronic devices recording his private conversations. But then are made available for high officials, the recorded chronology of sexual peccadillos to pop their late-night jollies over, if we believe Jack Anderson.

The Census bureau can cask any damn question it desires, some of which you are by law required to answer, or find your butt fined and/or in the can. Other questions are supposedly answered voluntarily at the citizen's option but the questioner doesn't necessarily divulge which are which.

ISSUE POSED BY ORI

It occurred to the Institute's Director—Ockert—to pose the question, **"Does there exist a definable area of legitimate activity, information concerning which a United States citizen might legitimately withhold from the inquiry of an authorized representative of the United States Government?"** In other words, at what point, if any, can one tell the government snoops to kiss off and not be sorely chastized therefor. Or, if none exist, then we are indeed considered puppets of the bureaucracy and let us act accordingly. To be sure if you commit a crime the Fifth Amendment will not only guarantee your right to withhold pertinent data but will free you from any penalties attendant thereunto should such information be extracted from you without your being advised of your right to remain silent. But what if you don't commit a crime? Do you have equal rights under the law not to divulge that which you wish not to divulge on any subject or don't you? This is the issue to which the Institute has addressed itself.

How would you go about it? Well this was the first major problem to confront the Research Director and he confronted it right back. You direct an inquiry to those whose powers encompass and whose decisions most profoundly affect these specific areas. And so, with a residuum of Sophomoric chutzpah, last year Ockert directed the following certified letter independently to the three people in our government who were positioned best to answer. President Nixon, Chief Justice Burger and Director of Census Bureau Brown. Thus exercising the right to petition the government for the redress of grievances.

> Dear—
>
> I am inquiring as to the existence of individual liberty in the United States, an area which your decisions greatly influence. I would like you to respond to the following questions.
>
> Question 1. To your knowledge, excepting the right to a secret ballot, does there exist a definable area of legitimate activity, information concerning which, a United States Citizen might legitimately withhold from the inquiry of an authorized representative of the U.S. Government?

John Ockert, who acted as Director of Research of the Ockert Research Institute, authored "Save Our Smog," which appeared in the January 1972 issue of REASON. Following the exchange of correspondence discussed in "The Right To Withhold—Does It Exist?", Ockert left his position as a high school mathematics teacher in Southern California to move to New Zealand, in search of freer surroundings. He submitted this piece to REASON some months prior to his recent untimely death from illness, complicated by pneumonia.

Question 2. If your answer to question 1 is yes would you please define such an area or several if you can think of them? No representation will be made from your answers—if any—to these questions that they, your answers, have exhausted the subject being addressed. This is an "existence" enquiry not one of extent.

Question 3. Assuming your answer to question one was yes and your answer to question 2 was non empty, would you please list several—not more than 10—relevant and substantive questions for each area identified in your answer to question 2, which a U.S. Citizen might justifiably refuse to answer "ASSUMING" they were asked by an authorized representative of the U.S. Government?

We all recognize the obligation of the citizen to give true and complete testimony when under oath in the court room so that the truth may emerge and justice be more closely approximated. This does not apply to the enquiry.

We also recognize the Fifth Amendment protections which one may invoke against giving information which might be used to convict him. These are not areas of consideration. What I seek is the existence, if any, of the right of a citizen to be secure from the inquisitiveness of his government—however well intentioned that inquisitiveness may be, in short, the right to withhold. Is there one? By virtue of your position you are involved at the decision level of these considerations.

For your information I intend to subject your response as of 4/20/72 or lack thereof to a critical evaluation monitored by whatever fairness I can muster and limited by whatever bias slips past the aforementioned mustered fairness and submit this letter, your response and my evaluation for publication.

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

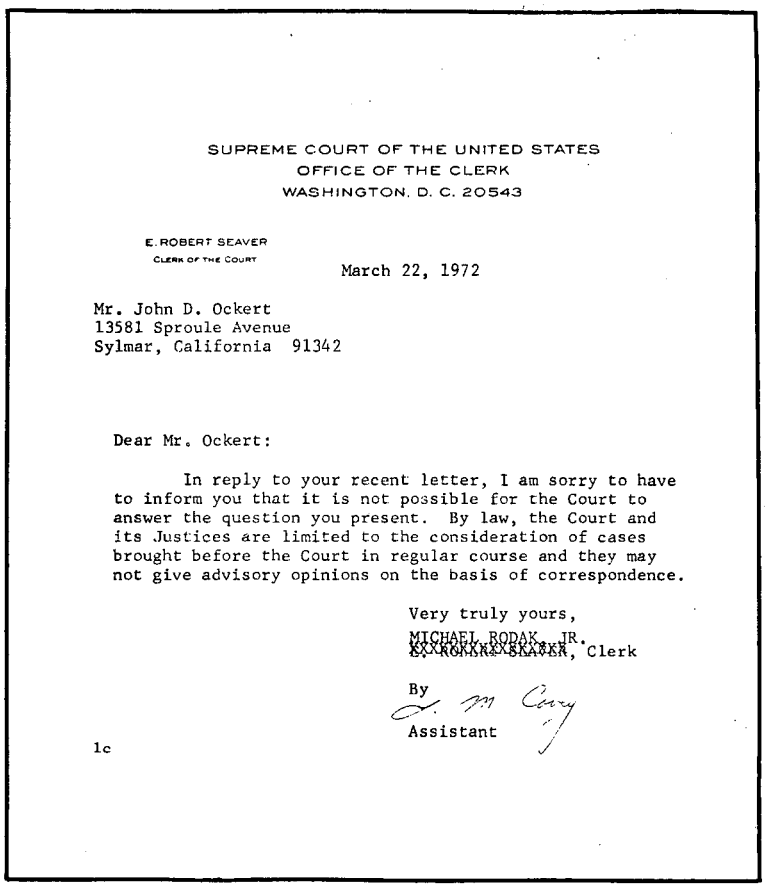
John D. Ockert

P.S. These questions have been composed with some care so kindly avoid the forensic hazards of a casual answer.

The letters were sent on or about March 16, 1972 and the correspondents were given until April 20, 1972 to respond or not as inclined.

RESPONSES

The first response emanated from the Supreme Court, not as you might suppose directly from the pen of Warren Burger himself, but on the stationery of Court Clerk E. Robert Seaver whose typed name was x'd out and over which appeared the typed name of Michael Rodak, Jr. under which appeared the signature by L. M. Covey, Assistant. Indeed this response actually was delivered one day before the return receipt arrived so they cannot be faulted for unpromptness.



SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20543

E. ROBERT SEAVER
CLERK OF THE COURT

March 22, 1972

Mr. John D. Ockert
13581 Sproule Avenue
Sylmar, California 91342

Dear Mr. Ockert:

In reply to your recent letter, I am sorry to have to inform you that it is not possible for the Court to answer the question you present. By law, the Court and its Justices are limited to the consideration of cases brought before the Court in regular course and they may not give advisory opinions on the basis of correspondence.

Very truly yours,
MICHAEL RODAK, JR.
~~E. ROBERT SEAVER~~, Clerk

By
Assistant

lc

However, Seaver, Rodak Jr., Covey, et all indicate that ". . . it is not possible for the Court to answer the question you present." It is an established principle of law that the acts of an agent are considered as the acts of him on whose behalf the agent acts. If indeed this be true the Republic is in great danger for if the Chief Justice cannot define an area of legitimate privacy who the hell can, and how can one make a proper legitimate decision in this regard. Seaver, Rodak Jr., and Covey say that Chief Justice Burger is by law limited to excluding considerations of items brought before them in this manner. This may well be true. However, Justice Burger and his associates are the final arbiters of that law and indeed have the sworn obligations to provide for the citizenry the protections of the Constitution and the implementation and actualization of these rights and freedoms and protections. This obligation of theirs should have far greater priority than the formalities of the "regular course". The function of the imple-

mentation of liberty should monitor the form in which this implementation is effectuated and if, as Mr. Covey's letter indicates, the form is more important than the function, the Republic is indeed in trouble and the court has exhausted its value to the Republic, and to the citizen.

Mr. Brown, the Director of the Census Bureau, extended to Ockert the courtesy of a response and is herewith thanked. His letter is reprinted for your perusal and analysis. The key point from the Ockert's viewpoint is the first sentence of the third paragraph. It should be apparent by now to the perceptive reader that this inquiry while hoping to establish some area of personal privacy, was at the same time seeking whatever evidence may exist from government sources which would demonstrate the augmentation or conversely the vitiation of personal freedom vectors currently operant in the Republic.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Social and Economic Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, D.C. 20233
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Mr. John D. Ockert
13581 Sproule Avenue
Sylmar, California 91342

Dear Mr. Ockert:

This is in reply to your letter of March 15 concerning individual liberty in the United States.

In addition to a secret ballot there are many areas of legitimate activity concerning which a United States citizen may legitimately withhold information from an inquiry of an authorized representative of the U.S. Government. For example, the Bureau of the Census conducts numerous surveys, the answers to which are completely voluntary on the part of respondents.

The determination of the conditions under which a United States citizen may legitimately withhold information depends upon the importance of the purpose to be served and not upon the question itself. The Congress has ruled that it is mandatory that a citizen give information required to determine the number of Congressmen from each State and the boundaries of these Congressional Districts. On the other hand, it has been declared not mandatory that information on consumer expenditures be supplied for developing weights for the Consumer Price Index.

Sincerely,

GEORGE H. BROWN
Director
Bureau of the Census

Had Mr. Brown been stretched on the rack with a vein full of sodium pentothal, he could not have given a more revealing sentence even though he were reading from a pre-composed script.

The complete context you have to judge from yourself, but consider this gem. "The determination of the conditions under with a United States citizen may legitimately withhold information depends upon the importance of the purpose to be served and not upon the question itself." And that says it all. Those items you have not divulged to your government are withheld not by any inalienable right to privacy which you possess—you don't possess any. They are untendered only by the clemency of governmental sufference because the government does not deem it of sufficient importance—yet.

The White House, too, received the identical inquiry and we have saved them for last since they contributed least. Other than the returned receipt (reproduced below) no attempt was made to answer the question.

PLEASE FURNISH SERVICE(S) INDICATED BY CHECKED BLOCK(S). REQUIRED FEE(S) PAID.
☐ Show to whom, date and address where delivered ☐ Deliver ONLY to addressee

RECEIPT
Received the numbered article described below.

REGISTERED NO.
CERTIFIED NO. 23615
INSURED NO.
DATE DELIVERED MAR 2 0 1972

SIGNATURE OR NAME OF ADDRESSEE (*Must always be filled in*)
THE PRESIDENT
SIGNATURE OF ADDRESSEE'S AGENT, IF ANY
George H. Baker
SHOW WHERE DELIVERED (*only if requested*)

o56—16—71845-11 347-198 GPO

Or perhaps that is really the answer. If Mr. Nixon really believes no area of privacy is the legitimate property of any citizen perhaps he, in not answering, actually listed the TOTALITY of such areas—to wit the NULL SET. Let's hear it for the new math. Oh to be sure he was busy in 1972 with visits to China, Russia, reelection, etc. and the Institute's Director was for a short moment hesitant to intrude upon such a busy important schedule.

However a reexamination of the priorities would put the case of personal freedom and the right to privacy far ahead of the importance of telephoning plays to assorted football teams so it would seem a legitimate claim on the President's attention. But it is not to Ockert or Ockert's Institute that Mr. Nixon is obligated to answer. It is to the American people whose liberty and freedom he is sworn to uphold and defend. So, on your behalf, Ockert once again enjoins the president and the Supreme Court to speak to the question: The right to withhold—Does it exist? But supposing they don't. God's Holy word indicates the precedential response which Dr. Graham can perchance spell out in more eloquent detail. Replacing "Inhabitants" by the word "bureaucrats" in Numbers 33:55 we find; "But if ye will not drive out the 'bureaucrats' of the land and from before you, then it shall come to pass that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell".—Selah ◻

COMMITTEE FOR THE

ANTI-INFLATION AMENDMENT

To the Constitution of the United States

1. HARD CURRENCY MANDATE

After considerable research by economists, many people have come to the conclusion that economic problems—inflation, unemployment, depressions (and obviously the taxes to cure them all)—are **caused** by the Federal government, as it mismanages the money of the United States. The money supply fluctuates: when it expands too fast, we get inflation; when it slows down, we get unemployment. Americans are forbidden to own gold, and the balance of payments is overdrawn because of depreciating money. We the People can end all of that by passing a law to discipline our government:

> Section 1: IT SHALL BE THE POLICY OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES TO STABILIZE THE SUPPLY OF CASH NOTES AND FEDERAL CREDIT IN CIRCULATION, AND THEREBY TO PRESERVE AND INCREASE THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

This policy could be accomplished even without the Amendment in a number of ways, but confusion about controlling interest rates, as opposed to the quantity of money, has led us into inflation. The precise way chosen to achieve this policy (the issue is very complex) would be up to the Congress, the President, and the Federal Reserve System. Among the ways would be either using the commodity price of gold, or any group of commodities, as a base price, or by fixing the quantity of money, or the rate of monetary expansion, by law.

IT IS TIME TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES.

2. WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS UNCONSTITUTIONAL

We should now be able to get rid of those unfair and unwise wage price controls. Everybody—Democrats and Republicans alike—all want to get rid of wage and price controls "as soon as possible." The time is **right now!** The controls were never needed, and the Anti-Inflation Amendment will prevent the need for controls in the future.

> Section 2: CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESTRICTING THE FREEDOM OF WAGES AND PRICES. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO MAKE CONTRACTS AND TO TRADE FREELY AMONG THEMSELVES SHALL NOT BE ABRIDGED.

This idea has been suggested by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, and by George McGovern during his election campaign. Richard Nixon supported this principle until 1971, and may someday support it again. In addition to this general statement, we propose the following specific definition of economic freedom as an important addition to the constitution of the United States:

IF YOU SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL, SEND YOUR NAME TO THE COMMITTEE.

3. CARTEL MONOPOLY PRICES FORBIDDEN

The government not only causes inflation and economic depressions, it sometimes makes things worse by price controls in favor of certain vested interests, and cheats the consumers because **competition** is against the law. We need competition in our free economy to make the system work.

> Section 3: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OR OF ANY STATE, SHALL NOT, THROUGH ANY LAW OR ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION, PREVENT OR FORBID ANY PERSON OR CORPORATION FROM OFFERING FOR LEGITIMATE SALE OR FROM LOWERING THE SALE PRICE OF WHATEVER GOODS OR SERVICES MAY BE COMMERCIALLY TRADED.

This idea was first suggested by Milton Friedman. All it says is that consumers deserve the lowest prices possible, and the government should not obstruct competition in any way.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO THE COMMITTEE, BOX 4691, CHICAGO 60680

Art vs. the State

Kenneth LaFave

Modern history is filled with examples of superbly competent men being instructed, lectured, and disciplined by second-rate politicians. Perhaps the most bizarre episode of this type occurred in 1948, when Joseph Stalin, who knew less about music than he did of morality, told several of this century's finest composers to change their composing style.

"Decadent and bourgeois" were the words used by Stalinist henchman Zhdanov to describe the then-recent music of Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Miakovsky, and several others. Summoned to a "meeting," these "criminals" were accused of adopting Western ideas, and of neglecting the musical needs of "the Soviet people." Those with important teaching positions, such as Shostakovich, were dismissed from them, and a public apology was demanded of all. At first there was some resistance from the victims: Prokofiev sat with his back to Zhdanov for the entire duration of the lecture, and Miakovsky refused to come at all. But slowly, and out of necessity, the apologies came, accompanied by a change of style. The over-all effect of this artistic purge can be observed by listening first to Shostakovich's brilliantly irreverant Ninth Symphony, written in 1945, and then to his dreadfully boring Tenth Symphony, written in 1950. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat had achieved its true purpose: music was now bland enough for everyone.[1]

For centuries, art has crossed swords with the State as in the above example. Yet there is a widespread feeling, among artists and audiences alike, that government aid to the arts is acceptable, even desirable, as long as the interests of "artistic freedom" are looked after, i.e.—as long as government *subsidies* do not involve government *control.* But is it possible for aid to exist without control, or are the two inseparably linked, and together crush true artistic freedom?

There are two ways in which government money to the arts can be directed: (a) recipients of aid can be decided by the tastes of the majority ("the people"), or (b) the government can establish some sort of criteria for what is "good art" and grant money to those who display such criteria. The first method has been adopted (at least in terms of rhetoric) by the Soviet Union, the second by the United States. What follows is a short examination of both systems.

We have already seen, in the previous example concerning Soviet composers, an instance of the first method at work. Composers, authors, and painters who do not fulfill the needs of the majority are simply not sanctioned by the State, and therefore have no "right" to compose, write, or paint. The situation is one of artistic enslavement: either work for the majority, or starve.

In actuality, the artist is not even working for the majority, but for some politician's vague idea of what the majority wants, tainted by political desires (e.g. "patriotic art.") After the 1948 purge, for example, there was a hint of public outrage (as much as is possible in a totalitarian country)—the people had *liked* the music so severely criticized by Stalin![2]

Artistic freedom in such an environment suffers on two levels: (1) the artist is not free to create as he wishes, and (2) the audience is not free to choose as it desires. As to the claim of "serving the majority," such tampering with freedom of choice serves only the whims of despots. Because it is unhampered by political middle-men, the *free market* is a much better gauge of majority tastes.

The American system does not claim the support of the majority, in fact, to the contrary. In 1962, Arthur Goldberg wrote, "To free our art forms from destructive financial tests is to protect them from the tyranny of the majority .... If the arts are to flourish, they must be relieved of total dependence upon the market place, and upon majority opinion and taste."[3] And who is to support, through tax money, this "flourishing" of the arts? The majority, of course. What was that he said about tyranny?

Following Goldberg's lead, a Senate subcommittee on the Arts was formed. Then, in 1964, President Johnson and company created the National Arts Council. In 1965 came the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and its financial strongarm, the National Endowment for the Arts. Since 1965, with the help of both Presidents Johnson and Nixon, the "token" $10 million per annum then

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Kenneth LaFave received his Bachelor's Degree in Theory and Composition from the University of Arizona's School of Music. He has composed a one-act science-fiction opera, as well as many smaller works, and has published articles in FICTION and the INDIVIDUALIST.

allotted has expanded to $80 million. President Nixon has expressed his desire to "develop" the arts even further in his second term. (During the widely-publicized 1971 Red China visit, Nixon lauded the merits of the communally-composed opera *TAKING TIGER MOUNTAIN BY STRATEGY,* an asinine piece of eclectic trash. Perhaps he has plans to commission an opera called *TAKING WASHINGTON BY MANDATE.)*

Where has this money gone? What artistic miracles has all this stolen money wrought? Below is an example.

LIGHGHT.

No, that's not a misprint, nor are you seeing double. It's the word "light" misspelled, and it constitutes the entirety of a "poem" by Aram Saroyan, for which $750 in tax money was paid.[4] The poem was published in a government-sponsored anthology called the *AMERICAN LITERARY ANTHOLOGY.* Edited by George "Mr. Amateur" Plimpson, this book also contained nine selections from the *PARIS REVIEW*, a magazine that Plimpton edits. Under the provisions for the anthology, money was paid to the magazines from which the selections came, as well as to the authors. Corruption, anyone?

How effective has the National Endowment been in relieving the financial worries of Symphony orchestras across the United States? In 1964, before government money was available, ninety American Symphony orchestras ran up a total debt of 170,000 dollars. In 1971, six years after the establishment of the National Endowment, the same orchestras incurred debts of thirteen *million* dollars![5] Apparently, the availability of "free" money had encouraged fiscal irresponsibility on the part of the orchestras. This drove them further into debt, which in turn got them more "free" money, which in turn encouraged fiscal irresponsibility, which in turn .... It is an endless Statist circle.

"So there *is* some corruption, and some of the subsidized artists *are* kind of weird, but don't we still have a condition of government aid without government control?" Such is hardly the case. When government takes tens of millions of dollars annually and gives it to some artists in preference to others, that alone is an act of control. That money, in the hands of its original owners, would have seen its way to *other* artists, artists appreciated by the public, and voluntarily supported by them. Instead, it is given to a choice few in the name of "good art." Government subsidies and government controls are one and the same.

The free market is not a cultural cure-all. An enormous amount of trash makes its way to the marketplace, and often enjoys a great deal of success. This is not the fault of any political system, however, but rather the fault of the public themselves. It is they who should decide, and they who should take the responsibility for deciding. A free artistic market *does* insure the following: freedom to create and to seek a market for one's creations, freedom to choose what art and which artists one wishes to support, and the right to choose *not* to support others. A government subsidy program insures: corruption, coercion, and control. The choice is obvious. ◻

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Lawrence Hanson & Elisabeth Hanson, *PROKOFIEV, A BIOGRAPHY IN THREE MOVEMENTS* (New York: Random House 1964), pp. 319-23.
[2] *Id.* at p. 324.
[3] Quoted by Joan Blumenthal in *THE OBJECTIVIST,* November 1968, p. 9.
[4] *HUMAN EVENTS,* 25 April 1970, p. 15.
[5] Associated Press Release, 18 February 1970, by Peggy Simpson.

TO A DECORATIVE MISTRESS

Your teeth smile moist and cold
like alabaster petals:
I want to teach them
pain
and joy
and greed,
And see your blood
sing out in light
the song of flowing metals;
But if I prick'd you,
darling
would you bleed?

Lee Eisenstark

You seek something special.

You're working hard to make your dreams a reality. Fighting for what you believe in. Struggling to achieve your values. And you're making a go of it.

Most of the time.

But there are those moments, those disappointing times when you've reached a plateau and you want — desperately — to see others doing the same.

So what do you do?

You go into a book store and look for authors who will uplift your spirits. You go into a music store and seek out that rare "concerto of deliverance." And you go into an art store, looking for paintings that share your sense of life.

You want aesthetic works that stimulate and rejuvenate your positive philosophy.

New and different

And it is because of this that we have begun writing and designing posters for the individualist. Something new, different and exciting.

You'll know why, if you're familiar with the contemporary poster market. If you're not, we suggest you visit your favorite music or book store and look at the walls. Don't turn away when you see that so-called musician's bat-like eyes staring at the stuffed baby he kills on stage. Take a good, long look at that hideous man holding a pile of something or other asking if you're "tired of the same old ----." Whether you like it or not, you're watching the values of a culture hanging on the wall.

Dedication and respect

You see, we know something about you. We know that you like beauty and dignity and hard work and dedication and respect.

Respect for those heroic individuals who refuse to compromise to this cultural vacuum.

Now look at our first poster. We're not using "professional personalities," though we do have professional writers and artists. (The man who originated this type of art form is in the creative department of one of the world's largest advertising agencies. He will be writing the copy for every poster, too.)

The model — while not a professional model — is a beautiful young lady currently working her way through Law School. Her politics and philosophy closely resemble yours: She believes deeply in free-enterprise, independence, and making the most of her talents. Her favorite authors — of fiction and philosophy and psychology — are possibly your favorite authors. And she is happy, incredibly happy. Which is the theme of the poster.

Individualist art

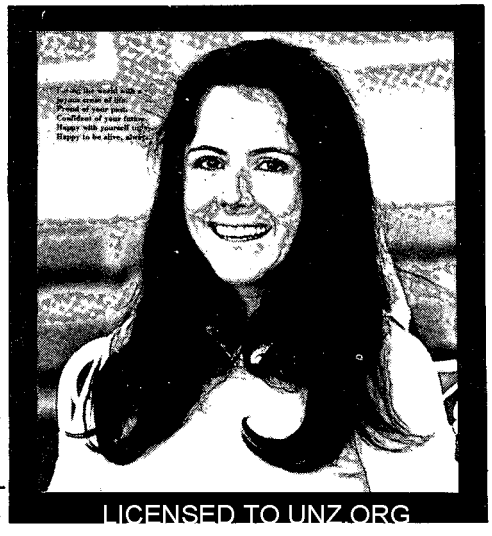
Now you have an idea of what this is all about. Art work in poster form: of individualists, by individualists and for individualists. We do hesitate from using the word "poster" because of those that share the name — and because ours is a more delicate size.

Instead of the monstrous sheets that make ugly art uglier, we're using a slightly smaller size that makes beautiful art more beautiful. And delicate. (17″ x 21″).

The art work is framed by a black border, which provides a sharp and exciting contrast to the aqua blue photograph. The writing is in black, and it reads:

Facing the world with a
joyous sense of life.
Proud of your past.
Confident of your future.
Happy with yourself today.
Happy to be alive, always.

If you, too, are happy to be alive, and looking for aesthetic works to calm your inspirational unrest, then take advantage of this exciting opportunity.



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Davis E Keeler

SECRET FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS

In these days when American taypayers are becoming both more rebellious and more sophisticated, you now and then hear wonderful stories of a beautiful green paradise in Europe where the snow is white and tight-lipped bankers will tell IRS agents to go jump off an Alp. If you would like to curl up with a good compendium of these moral tales, you might try T. R. Fehrenbach's *THE SWISS BANKS* (McGraw-Hill, 1966).

While much of the fame of the numbered Swiss account is deserved, there are some problems. For one thing, a secret account transaction is never closed for tax purposes, i.e., there is no statute of limitations in tax fraud cases. For another, even if a businessman can handle his secret account with no difficulty, he cannot count on his heirs being as adept. His widow may find handling the account beyond her capabilities, either technically or emotionally; she may find herself plagued by fear and worries rather than enjoying the security her husband intended. To cite just one other problem, the IRS practice of paying rewards for informers would put a dangerous power in the hands of a disgruntled employee or vindictive wife.

To avoid these problems, the individual should understand exactly what he wants. Most potential users of Swiss accounts are not as interested in secrecy as they are in tax savings. By seeking to save taxes by relying on secrecy, the investor runs the risk of serious penalties upon exposure. Most Americans are unaware that there are legitimate "tax havens" which do not rely upon secrecy.

Tax havens such as Switzerland and Liechtenstein are structured along the continental civil law tradition and depend on secrecy and the confidential relationship between banker and client or lawyer and client. In addition to secret accounts, there are holding companies with nominee officers whose shares are in bearer form and whose ownership is hidden behind the confidential relationship between the nominee-officers, usually local attorneys, and the true parties in interest whose identity is desired to be kept secret.

The use of this latter device could be illustrated by the situation in which ownership of a business, say an international newsletter, is sold to a dummy Swiss firm for a modest cash consideration. The former owner continues on a salary. The sales price and salary are taxable to the former owner. The profits from the operation of the business accrue to the company in Switzerland. Because little of the business income is Swiss-based, there is little Swiss tax due. Since the company is now based in Switzerland, the former taxing jurisdiction of the owner is left nothing to tax except his modest salary. Ownership of the Swiss company is hidden by the fact that all its shares are in bearer form (i.e., the owner's name is not a matter of official record) and are very likely deposited in the name of some attorney in yet another jurisdiction, say Liechtenstein. Ownership of these shares may in fact be in the original owner who has gone through this rigmarole in order to avoid taxes on the profits of his business.

As imaginative as such a scheme may be, it doesn't hold water, tax-wise. The only reason it works is because the true ownership of the Swiss corporation is hidden behind several layers of bank secrecy and attorney-client privilege. Otherwise, the 'grantor trust', 'controlled foreign corporation', and/or 'sham transaction' rules, to mention just a few of the IRS's options, would shoot the transaction down easily. The British taxing authorities are at least as resourceful.

In contrast to the continental tradition, nations of the English common law tradition have a refinement of property ownership known as the trust. When property is given in trust, the former owner parts with ownership and control of the property to the trustee. The rights and obligations of ownership, including the incidence of taxation, now fall on the trustee. The trustee owns full legal title, subject to the obligation to pay over all or part of the property or income to certain persons, called the beneficiaries, under certain conditions defined in the terms of the trust or created by law. The law of trusts was created in England centuries ago as a means of avoiding feudal obligations and has a substantial body of experience and practice behind it. Liechtenstein has recently adopted a trust law, but its lawyers and courts have so little experience with it that its functioning must for now be a matter of speculation.

In the case of tax haven jurisdictions based on the English common law tradition, such as Bermuda or the Cayman Islands, tax planning centers on the use of foreign trusts.

Under this practice, a citizen in a high tax jurisdiction, such as US or UK, transfers cash or other assets to a trustee, perhaps a bank or a company organized to administer trusts, under certain terms. These terms usually provide that income will be accumulated for a period of years and paid under certain conditions to particular persons or classes of persons, such as children or heirs. The trustee is domiciled in a low-tax jurisdiction, such as the Caymans, and can accumulate trust income tax free. When the funds are eventually paid out they will be taxable to the recipient but under conditions resulting in a significant tax savings due to the long deferral of taxes and the generally lower tax bracket of the recipient. The recipient may, in fact, go further and plan to be domiciled in a low-tax jurisdiction at the time the trust income is paid to him.

None of this involves secrecy of any form. All matters are open and legal and neither the donor nor his heirs need lose sleep for fear of the unexpected arrival of the tax agent.

Such transactions, being legal, are somewhat more involved and expensive than simply putting the money in a numbered account and not telling anyone. The trust must be for at least a ten year period and numerous other U.S. laws respecting the use of trusts to avoid taxation must be followed. The transfer of funds to a foreign trust must be reported on a special form within 90 days of the transfer. If securities are transferred, there is a 27½% tax on their appreciation. Since the donor must part with all strings on the assets, he will not be able to regain the

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Our advertising aims directly at a prospect's self interest, then demonstrates the product's benefits logically, factually and forcefully. We measure the sales results of each advertisement. This means we can and do scientifically test different variables of advertising, to improve its profitability.

We are growing rapidly. When new positions open up, we try to promote our own people. For instance: one former trainee is now Media Vice President; one of our former bookkeepers is now a full-time copywriter; another former bookkeeper /copywriter is now our President. So you can advance as far as your accomplishments take you—in management, media or copywriting.

If you believe you can succeed in this career, tell us how we will profit mutually by working together. Write in detail to Byron Callas, Buzzell, Powell, Rosenthal, Inc., 14 Sweetfield Circle, Yonkers, New York 10704. Your reply will be held in strict confidence. Please mention where you read this advertisement.

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223 Abbott Road, East Lansing, Michigan 48823

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funds until the trust terminates should he suddenly find himself in need of the property.

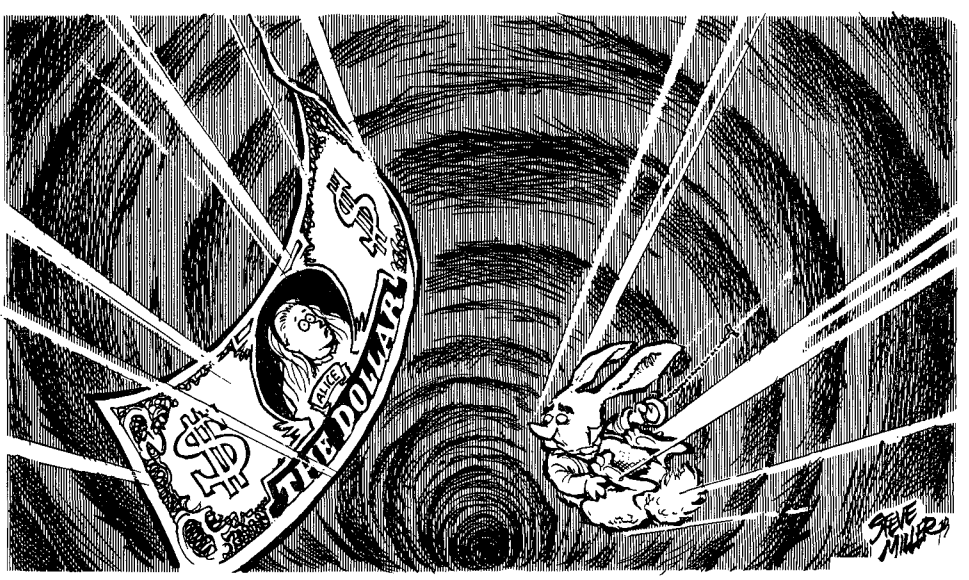
All of these factors will involve planning and some legal expenses. Banks and trust companies will charge for their services, though these charges are generally quite modest. On the other hand, considerable taxes, both on income and estates, can be avoided with as much safety as you can normally expect in tax planning. As the author of an article on tax havens in the English journal *THE BANKER* observed:

> Businessmen, bankers and tax planners will always be tempted to utilize the secret numbered account as a method of evading death duties and income taxes. Yet the only line of defence and protection is secrecy. Once this is pierced, there is nothing to fall back upon. While the adverse consequences resulting from the discovery of secret accounts used for purposes of tax evasion will vary from country to country the potential for both serious personal and financial loss is great. In the area of legitimate tax planning and particularly with the use of the foreign trustee, to the creative mind there are almost unlimited opportunities for tax control and tax deferral. It is in my view regrettable that so many taxpayers should have resorted to the numbered account scheme when careful sophisticated planning is available to minimize the pain of the tax collector's bite.

One should probably point out that the author of the above quotation is an officer of a Cayman trust company and therefore biased in favor of his own product. Nonetheless, his points are well made. There is no point in breaking laws unnecessarily.

Davis Keeler's Money column alternates monthly in REASON with John J. Pierce's Science Fiction column.

"I wonder how many miles I've fallen," said Alice. "I must be getting somewhere near the center of the earth."



foreign correspondent

MANILA, PHILIPPINES

President Marcos has embarked upon a policy of extermination as a solution to the Moslem problem in the Southern Philippines. This is common knowledge even though the same venture with the Jews by Hitler met with horrendous cries of indignation and condemnation. Here in the Philippines the silent war goes on; the Moslems die, children are killed, and the U.S. becomes more involved and little is said or printed. Marcos has, at the present time, no alternative to annihilation of the Moslems; there is no possibility for assimilation, amnesty, or amalgamation; there is only extermination!

It all began when President Marcos declared martial law and decided to break up the private armies that exist in every barrio to protect not only the legislators, but each barrio captain and anyone else who feels a threat from "outside." Marcos called for the surrender of every weapon held by any individual not connected with the government. For the Moslems in the province of Cotabato including Zamboanga and Jolo and Basilan, this order meant more than a governmental decree to give up their wives. Guns to the Moslems are tops in the hierarchy of importance; wives are second. This is the major mistake by Marcos. Some Moslems who owned four weapons turned in one. The vast majority chose to fight, and the young took to the mountains to resist the inadequately-trained government troops.

But there is more . . . land. The Moslems feel that the government is after their land—which is true. Land has been stolen from the Moslems as the Catholic-Christians move in, but at the same time, the Moslems have sold pieces of property over and over again as titles become obscured, lost, or erased. The whole concept of who owns what and how in the southern part of the Philippines becomes lost through the greed of the Moslems and the Christians.

So what is the solution of the government? Can the Moslems ever be assimilated into the Philippine nationality? Hardly. They are a different religion with unusual concepts such as the acquisition of many wives; their hats are different; they worship in mosques. They are different from the usual Christian Philippino. They feel superior to the Christians in their part of the country. Can they ever be assimilated? The answer is an absolute negative. Then what do you do as president of a country involved in a desperate war with these people? You annihilate them; wipe them out; exterminate them! And that is exactly what is happening now with the help of the U.S. government in planes, napalm, and bombs.

But the solution is not easy. It is costing Marcos more than he is willing to pay in troops and supplies. For the first time in over two decades, the Philippine government is forced into conscripting men into the army.

There are many of us who believe that Vietnam, Cambodia and Indo-China will move slowly southward into the Philippines to help exterminate this small religious minority. Not even the Pilgrims had it that tough. They were persecuted but no one tried to exterminate them.

Larry Nelson

libertarian party correspondent—

"The kind of man who wants the government to adopt and enforce his ideas is always the kind of man whose ideas are idiotic."

—H. L. Mencken

If there were any remaining doubts as to the viability and future of the Libertarian Party, its 1973 National Convention in Strongsville, Ohio early in June must surely have eliminated them. The LP is no longer a tenuous coalition of hesitant and dubious allies but rather a united front of determined individualists committed to the common goal of freedom in our time. This Convention was the confirmation of what the delegates to the first LP Convention in Denver last year had sensed and hoped for but probably not fully convinced themselves of: A libertarian political movement can survive and grow in the United States.

About 200 libertarians of every ilk and description attended the three day Convention in warm and humid weather. The Ohio delegation, lead by Kay Harroff, deserves credit for a job well done in attending to the details of the gathering. The Constitution of the LP calls for a Convention to be held every year with official business to be conducted only on the even-numbered years. Thus, this meeting was devoted primarily to seminars and workshops.

Three major seminars took place over the weekend with the first being devoted to a discussion of appropriate issues to use in political campaigns. Panelists were Willis Stone, Gary Greenberg, Steve Brown and Karl Bray. Much of the conversation centered around the validity of attempting to use the LP as a means to amend the Constitution as opposed to simply revoking laws. Stone defended the Constitution as "a great protector of individual liberties." Greenberg urged the delegates "not to be afraid to be radical" and Bray suggested that taxation was the one issue on which the LP could expect to win the most support.

The seminar on the use of the media essentially brought home the point that the media is available to the Party if it will take the time and effort to be newsworthy. A more systematic approach to contacting the media was recommended with special emphasis being given to the opportunities editorial replies offer and the necessity of having frequent and well-written press releases.

The final seminar was on fund raising and here the strategy centered on customizing appeals for money to fit the target. It

was also pointed out that donations for specific projects are often easier to obtain than contributions to the general Party funds. Direct mail followed by a telephone call was also suggested as an effective means of raising money.

Speeches were given on Friday night by libertarian dignitaries Dave Nolan, Tonie Nathan, Roger MacBride and Willis Stone. Nolan's talk was a rousing call to arms which emphasized the uniqueness of the libertarian political movement in history. This is the first time, he said, that both the will to fight for freedom and a sound understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of a free society have existed simultaneously. Nathan urged the Party to stay local in nature and not create a rigid bureaucratic structure. She also caused some controversy by suggesting to the anarchists in the Party that they use some other word to describe their political views. There is a difference, she said, between no government and the lawlessness that the word anarchy connotes.

MacBride, the gentleman from Virginia who put the LP on the map with his electoral vote last December, was given a long, standing ovation complete with banners reading "MacBride in 76". His speech ended with typically MacBrideian rhetoric: ". . . and when the tyranny that presently engulfs us falls, let it fall like Lucifer, never to rise again!" No less than sixteen speakers followed the major addresses in a program that lasted until 2:00 a.m.

Tape recorded messages from LP Presidential candidate John Hospers and economist Murray Rothbard were played to the delegates Saturday morning. Hospers defended his campaign strategy of emphasizing economic issues rather than social liberties. Ultimately there can be no personal freedom without a free market place, Hospers contended.

Rothbard, speaking to those libertarians who are opposed to the use of the political process, commented that "we did not seek politics, it was thrust upon us by the state. It is absurd not to make use of the political machinery to roll back the state." Rothbard also noted that the excellent growth of the LP subsequent to the Presidential election and all of its attendant publicity is a good sign that we are here to stay.

Unquestionably the most dynamic personality at the Convention was the New York State's Free Libertarian Party's candidate for the Mayor of New York City, Fran Youngstein. Displaying a distinctly libertarian flair for politics, Youngstein campaigned continuously and at one point urged the large Canadian contingent to interfere with the internal affairs of the United States for a change by supporting her candidacy. The FLP had a large and impressive group at the Convention.

NOTES

The regular state party reports were eliminated this month due to the length of the Convention report . . . Bruce Evoy reports that a Canadian LP Convention may be held in **Ontario** this October . . . Considerable discussion took place concerning the libertarian-like parties in **Denmark** and **Norway** . . . Contributions to Youngstein's **New York City** mayoral campaign should be sent to the FLP at 15 West 38th St., New York, NY . . . John Goodson continues to receive wide media coverage on his **New Jersey** gubernatorial race . . . **Ohio** LP is publishing a souvenir program of the '73 Convention available for $2 by writing to Glenn Schmid, 12143 Midpines Dr. #100, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241 . . . **Texas** LP (third largest in the nation) has donated $50 to the Karl Bray defense fund and urges other state parties to do the same . . . There are now 34 state parties . . . **Tennessee** is the latest to form one . . . Winston Duke of **Illinois** and Bill Westmiller of **Michigan** were elected to the national Executive Committee . . . Ads for the LP will be carried in *COMMENTARY, HUMAN EVENTS,* and *ANALOGUE* . . . Please send information on state party activities along with photos to Reason Reports c/o LPC, P.O. Box 71383, Los Angeles, CA 90071.

Edward H. Crane, III

movies

REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• **HITLER: THE LAST 10 DAYS** seems more like a theater piece than a movie, and unfortunately it very quickly becomes theater of the absurd. Here is *Der Fuhrer,* trapped in a Berlin bunker with the Allies closing in, issuing battle orders to his vanishing army, fantasizing about a last-minute counterattack, and throwing temper tantrums at his surviving generals. Because most of the action takes place inside the bunker, a sense of isolation prevails, and the tragicomic goings-on bear little relation to what's happening in the occasionally-glimpsed outside world. Nor does the acting improve the film's credibility. Alec Guiness plays Hitler with all the shadings of paranoia, meglomania and despair that the role seems to call for; but he injects very little dynamism into the part, behaving more like a petulant bureaucrat than a wounded tyrant. Perhaps this failure is due to the fact that the film is not allowed sufficient context to place Hitler's character in perspective. He is shown only in defeat, never in victory; hence he appears contemptible, but not dangerous. The dialogue is punctuated with British accents, which strike another blow at the film's shaky credibility. This is perhaps unavoidable (most of the actors are British), but annoying nonetheless. The script is serviceable, but never very suspenseful. All the incidents protrayed in the film are supposedly based on actual fact. If this is the case, then the last days of Germany in World War II were far less interesting than we have been led to believe. Rated "PG".

• Few situations in life are more frustrating than a game whose rules change in the middle. This is what our heroes—and I use the term loosely—face in **THE LAST OF SHEILA,** a fascinating clue-laden mystery yarn which is also a lethal send-up of various Hollywood types. An all-star cast is headed by James Coburn, as a sadistic producer who invites a group of unsuccessful movie colonists aboard his yacht for a week of fun and games. The name of the game is "rattle the skeletons," aimed at exposing a guilty secret in each guest's past. The game goes on its merry way for awhile, but just as the movie appears to become predictable, a sudden and unexpected murder yanks the film into a new course and a more deadly game. From here on, the movie picks up speed and interest, right up to the climax. All the major actors have juicy roles, and play them to the hilt. Richard Benjamin portrays a

hack writer and social climber, married to Joan Hackett, a rich heiress. Raquel Welch plays (naturally) a Hollywood star, married to her creepy manager, Ian McShane. James Mason is effective as an over-the-hill director, who has never done anything more notable than television commercials. Dyan Cannon is superb as a salty, acid-tongued, gossipy agent. Much of the drama takes place along the less-traveled areas of the French Riviera, and the location photography is excellent. The script by Stephen Sondheim and Anthony Perkins is tight and fast-moving, not wasting a second. Altogether, *THE LAST OF SHEILA* is a must for both mystery fans and devotees of old-fashioned Hollywood showmanship. Rated "PG".

• **GODSPELL** appears to be a dramatization of the Gospel according to St. Matthew as performed by The Monkees. Actually, the performers are talented young unknowns, veterans of *GODSPELL'S* earlier stage productions. The movie is remarkably faithful to the play in spirit and style, but in this case it's a mixed blessing. The low-comedy vaudeville atmosphere and the endless string of Christian parables do not mix well together, and anyone who takes religion seriously, pro or con, will likely be put off by the childish (as opposed to childlike) displays herein. The sheer silliness of the pasted-on Biblical dialogue and the nearly total lack of characterization combine to overwhelm the assembled talent. New York City provides the background for this carnival, apparently to make *GODSPELL* more "relevant," but instead this device makes the characters look even more foolish and out-of-place. The film's one asset is its musical sequences: the bright, cheerful tunes and imaginative choreography give the cast a chance to show how talented they really are. Thanks to composer Stephen Schwartz for this saving grace. Rated "G".

• Even Sam Peckinpah's most fervent admirers will be hard pressed to explain his romanticizing of a notorious outlaw in **PAT GARRETT AND BILLY THE KID.** Kris Kristofferson does not play Billy as an all-out hero, by any means; but he is given a much more likeable character than the stone-faced, guilt-ridden Garrett, played by James Coburn. Billy seems to come across essentially as a free spirit, robbing for sport, killing only when necessary, and protecting the common folks against the evil big business interests that are taking over the west. Garrett, on the other hand, is portrayed as an ex-outlaw who has sold out to the railroad interests, and is now a U.S. Marshal out to destroy his former partner-in-crime. Up to now, Peckinpah has attempted to challenge the prevailing mythology of the Old West, but here he panders to one of the most notorious myths of all: the Romantic Villian. His direction, too, shows a falling-off in quality from some of his previous films; much of the footage is just plain dull, relieved only occasionally by gratuitous violence. Bob Dylan makes his film debut as Billy's scruffy sidekick. His acting is on a par with his singing: rough and unkempt. For this role, it's adequate. Rated "R".

Richard Benjamin encounters a dummy while searching for clues in THE LAST OF SHEILA.

YOUR POEM

With you, I have been intimate,
permitting you my fingertips,
the inner ridge of my lip . . .
have I not? (Others have touched me—
like vines on a wall, growing be-
tween the cracks. Some have touched me
kindly) With you I have been power-
less. The hair upon your arms and chest
have held me, heard me whisper.
I have been gentle . . . have I
not? In every word and gesture.

As leaves against a dampened log,
your hands have known my body.
(Others have been that cannot be
again. They have no cracks to grow in)

Wendy McElroy

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book review

Reviewed by Eugene Guccione

THE TWILIGHT OF GOLD.
By Melchior Palyi. Chicago: Henry Regnery. 1972. Pp. 365. $15.

Published posthumously (Dr. Palyi died in 1970), *THE TWILIGHT OF GOLD* is not merely a treatise on gold and the gold standard but a crucially important contribution to the political and economic history of that turbulent period from 1914 to 1948—written by a man who was in a unique position to observe first-hand the events that led to the 1929 crash . . . and to the current international monetary chaos.

Hungarian-born Palyi became chief economist of the Deutsche Bank in 1928, then the largest bank in continental Europe, and was later managing director of the bank's Institute for Monetary Research from 1931 to 1933. An advocate of individual rights and freedom, Palyi could not have survived in Nazi Germany—and when Hitler rose to power, Palyi came to the United States and served as visiting professor at three universities, Chicago, Northwestern, and Wisconsin.

TWILIGHT OF GOLD, typical of Palyi's writings, is the antithesis of "conventional wisdom" in economics and demolishes a number of well-established misconceptions—e.g., that the convertible gold standard is too inflexible because it does not provide enough "liquidity," or that it ties a country's monetary system to the ups and downs of gold mining.

Under a convertible gold standard, says Palyi, the world for most of the 19th century and up to 1914 "was a world of almost nominal taxes, a world in which virtual freedom of enterprise, competition, and highly flexible wage-price structures prevailed—one in which private property and contractual agreements were enforced . . . . Above all, it was a world of *real* growth, at an average annual rate of 3% during the six decades before 1914, with rising living standards for the masses."

There were various warts and flaws and abuses in the gold standard, of course, and Palyi discusses them; but he stresses that everyone—economists, sociologists, politicians, and even avowed Marxists—fully recognized the virtues of the gold standard because they realized that, if nothing else, it made wars very difficult and very brief: governments did not have the necessary funds (i.e., gold) to finance military expenditures.

WORLD WAR I CASUALTY

Germany, however, under the influence of Bismark, was already a welfare-warfare state by 1914; and when World War I exploded, the gold standard was its first casualty. The governments of the warring nations, says Palyi, discovered that they could conscript the central banks into the service of their treasuries to provide them with "cash" and to manage the national debt.

The disastrous precedent had thus been set. From then on, central banks lost their independence, and economic and monetary science became the whore of politics.

When the war ended, everyone wanted to return to the gold standard. But political considerations now loomed larger than economic; and every nation, in a tragic reversal of cause-and-effect, lost sight of the benefits of the international division of labor and made the immediate goal of domestic prosperity more important than a sound financial system. The general feeling was:

> "If governments could raise and spend billions to finance the war, why should they not be able to use their power to assure greater postwar prosperity?"

Well, they did try. By turning to the printing presses; by refusing to dismantle the vastly bloated (and uneconomic) agricultural and industrial productive capacity that had been built at home to meet the exigencies of the war, and that could be sustained only through subsidies and import restrictions once the excessive wartime demand had ended; by thus wrecking the international division of labor; and finally, by making currencies inconvertible into gold.

LOST "RIGHT TO VOTE"

Before that time, any citizen distressed at his government's financial irresponsibility could protect his savings against inflation by converting paper money or bank deposits into gold, says economist Donald Kemmerer in his preface to Palyi's book. When currencies became inconvertible, "a citizen lost his right to vote 'no confidence,' a ballot he could formerly cast *any day,* not just on election day, to warn government to live within the income it was willing to raise by taxes."

Paradoxically, citizens of most nations lost this right at a time when politicians of all stripes were rhapsodizing about "democracy."

Americans, as the freest people on earth, were the last to lose that right. By that time, the crash had already occurred, thanks to the inflationary policies unleashed by most governments in the 1920's and to the speculative excesses that go hand-in-hand with inflation.

The gold standard was replaced with the "gold exchange standard"—a hybrid system which involved the use of some key currency as a substitute for and supplement to gold in settling balance-of-payment differences among nations. This hybrid gold-and-paper standard failed miserably in 1931—and then again *in 1971.*

Where do we go from here?

Those same nations that witnessed the successive collapses of a hybrid paper-and-gold system, are now informing us that a new hybrid system—this one – consisting of paper and "paper-gold" (alias, Special Drawing Rights)—will do the trick. The mystic notion that wealth is created by issuing billions of little pieces of paper with the portrait of some national hero on it, is now sweeping the world.

Gold is now in a period of twilight, says Palyi, and nations are officially rejecting it—*while actually attempting to accumulate as much gold as possible.* Why? To fight the Commies, the Japs, or the Martians. I was not always a pacifist. However, after reading Palyi's book, anyone will be seriously considering whether *any* war is worth its cost of human lives and spiritual and material values. As things stand, we haven't yet paid the full price of World War I.

Eugene Guccione is senior editor of ENGINEERING & MINING JOURNAL, and director of the COMMITTEE FOR MONETARY RESEARCH AND EDUCATION.

AIRPORTS FOR PROFIT

"Everyone thinks the government must run airports," says Abe J. Moses, vice-president and treasurer of Northrop Airport Development Corporation (NADC). Everyone, that is, except Mr. Moses and his colleagues, plus a small but growing number of customers. For NADC, a subsidiary of aerospace manufacturer Northrop Corporation, has entered into the business of not only designing and building airports, but running them as profit-making businesses, to boot. NADC recently completed arrangements for its first major turnkey airport project—a new $100 million international airport for Bangkok, Thailand.

Consistent with its private enterprise approach to the airport business, Northrop did not seek government funding for the Thailand project, not even in the form of revenue bonds (which would have been paid off without taxes). Instead, it has set up a separate company—Northrop Thailand Airport Co. (NTAC)—which is owned 51% by private Thai investors, 15% by Northrop, and the remainder by foreign (non-Thai) private investors. Key to NTAC's ability to raise capital is a 20-year franchise to operate the airport, after its 1978 opening date. Northrop expects the airport to gross $1 billion over the 20-year period, netting $290 million in profits. The Thai government will receive a $50 million franchise fee during the 20-year period.

How will the new airport differ from government-developed and operated ventures? For one thing, Northrop estimates that the costs of the project will be about 35% less than if the Thai government were conducting the program in conventional fashion. And by utilizing a single-point, profit-oriented management approach, Northrop expects to cut two to five years from the usual development time (which could normally run up to ten years). Because of the need to convince private investors to fund the project, without government guarantees, Northrop has a strong incentive to ensure that the airport is (and remains) commercially viable. The company will therefore seek to maximize non-aeronautics revenue, so as to minimize airline charges, will construct the airport in carefully-planned phases so as to avoid overcapacity, and will optimize the use of surrounding land (for industrial, commercial, and recreational uses).

Northrop is dead serious about being in the airport business. One Northrop executive has said that "We hope to be the Hilton of the airport industry." Already the company is engaged in planning and design for Singapore International Airport, design and construction of an airport in Saudi Arabia, planning airports for the state of Louisiana, Athens, and Panama City, and participating in airport construction in Iran. But so far the new Bangkok airport is the only one to be designed, built, and operated by a single company—for a profit. As a harbinger of things to come, it will bear careful watching in the years ahead.

SOURCES:
- "Thailand: Now Northrop Adds Airports to Its Line," *BUSINESS WEEK,* 10 February 1973, p. 39.
- "Northrop Stresses Overall Airport Role," Harold D. Watkins, *AVIATION WEEK,* 30 April 1973, p. 44.

FIGHTING BACK AGAINST SUBSIDIES

One reason why government subsidies are so easily enacted and so difficult to repeal is the fact that the beneficiaries of the subsidies, though few, are usually well-organized and highly vocal; those who are harmed by the subsidies (such as those who pay the taxes) are generally numerous but unorganized and voiceless. Witness the success of the few-thousand-member National Railroad Passengers' Association in getting the feds to set up Amtrak a few years back.

In the past few months, however, this particular subsidy has come under concentrated attack, not from citizen groups but from competing transportation companies who are being directly harmed by Amtrak's subsidized services. Northwest Airlines recently featured an editorial in its company magazine urging employees to protest the Amtrak subsidies. "Why should an airline employee help subsidize a competing transportation system when his or her job security and advancement is affected?" asked the editorial. It also noted that the Amtrak route between Miami and Chicago (one of Northwest's air routes) loses $10 for every passenger carried.

In a similar vein, Greyhound has begun running magazine ads knocking Amtrak; the hard sell, however, is reserved for Greyhound passengers and customers. Leaflets headlined "YOUR TAX DOLLARS ARE ON THE WRONG TRACK!" point out that while bus fares cover the full costs of the trip, Amtrak loses an *average* of $9 on every ticket. The leaflet cites Amtrak's 1972 loss of $147.4 million, "all of which the taxpayers had to subsidize," and urges that readers write their Congressman and Senators urging full-cost pricing of Amtrak tickets.

If more companies would begin lobbying against subsidies and special privileges rather than calling for *more* such programs, perhaps the interventionist trend of the past 50 years could finally be reversed.

SOURCES:
- "Airline Observer," *AVIATION WEEK,* 5 March 1973, p. 29.
- "Your Tax Dollars Are on the Wrong Track," Greyhound Lines Inc. leaflet.

CREEPING CAPITALISM HITS THE JAILHOUSE

"Not too many men and women at various levels of government want to talk about it for attribution, but the idea of turning various traditionally state functions over to private enterprise is looking more and more attractive." So began a recent column by journalist Phil Jordan. After noting the growing success of private trash collection, private schools, and private police and security firms, Jordan pointed out the most recent State monopoly to be penetrated by creeping capitalism—rehabilitation of former convicts.

The Chicago-based firm of Palmer-Paulson Associates, Inc. is a sales motivation and manpower development company. Several years ago the firm was awarded a federal grant to test out its management expertise in attempting to find jobs for ex-offenders. The initial pilot project in North Carolina was so successful that the company decided to get into the rehabilitation business in earnest. Its next two projects, in Maine and Indiana, were equally successful. The average rate of recidivism in the Palmer-Paulson program was 10 to 15%, compared with 50 to 75% for most groups of ex-offenders.

Palmer-Paulson's approach to job-oriented rehabilitation is a three-phase process. The first phase is a pre-release orientation

program, available to inmates in the two months prior to their release. Pre-release counselors work with the inmates on such topics as positive work attitudes, techniques of getting a job, basic money management, and personal problems and goals. The second phase involves job development. Palmer-Paulson's "job developers" match inmate skills and interests with employment openings in the area where the inmate plans to live, and attempt to sell employers on the inmate's abilities. Finally, the third phase consists of post-release counseling—going to job interviews with the inmate, helping him find housing, etc.

What accounts for Palmer-Paulson's striking success? For one thing, the firm is careful to avoid hiring as staff persons who have been part of the government criminal justice bureaucracy. It *does* hire a number of ex-convicts, who can understand the realities of trying to make it in the straight world, and the pressures of the prison subculture. Together with the firm's management and motivational resources, these factors combine to produce an operation highly attuned to individual needs and solidly in touch with the realities of the business world—unlike nearly all government-run "corrections" programs.

John Palmer, president of the firm, suggests that the day may not be far distant when the states will contract out their prison systems as well. If the Palmer-Paulson experience is at all typical of what creeping capitalism can do, that day can't be too soon in coming.

SOURCES:
- "Switch to Private Enterprise for State Services Grows," Phil Jordan, *LOS ANGELES CITY PRESS*, 21 September 1972.
- "Successful Approach to Ex-Offender Employment," *TARGET*, International City Management Association, Vol. 2, No. 2, March/April 1973 (available without charge from ICMA, 1140 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036).

CRIMINAL

Which law did you break last?

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FREEING THE PUBS

Although it may appear to be a law of nature that once the State takes over a field of endeavor it becomes "unthinkable" for it to be returned to the free market, just such a transaction is occurring in England. During World War I over 200 taverns, hotels, and liquor stores were nationalized, allegedly to combat drunkenness in munitions factories. As state-owned institutions, the pubs developed their own set of bureaucratic rules: no drinking at the bar, no standing, only one drink could be bought at a time, and no hard liquor could be sold on Saturday. Now, after 57 years, the pubs are being denationalized, in one of the few remnants of the Heath government's nearly-forgotten free-market policy. The highest bid—for 6 million pounds (roughly $14.4 million)—was accepted by the government in January, and the new private owners should be in command by the time this issue is published. Don't let anyone tell you it can't be done!

SOURCE:
- "Britain Going Out of Pub Business," Associated Press (London), 6 January 1973.

editorial

MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

POSITIVE APPROACHES TOWARDS CURRENT PROBLEMS

It is difficult to predict whether the aftereffects of Watergate will lead to a distrust of political "solutions" to public problems. Haven't we already heard the cry concerning "reform" of campaign financing practices: "We need *more* government control to prevent abuse of power by the government."

Now is the time for the *libertarian alternative* to be presented as prominently as possible, if we are to avoid the widespread "kneejerk" reliance on government action and yet further concentration of power in the institutions of government. It is nothing new to witness attempts to use state power to cover up, or divert attention from, the abuses and failures of government action. What is needed now is a broader awareness of positive approaches towards the solution of current problems.

- **Inflation.** *The statist kneejerk:* The "narcotic" of price controls, which try to mask the results of government intervention in the economy, and which expand government power over literally every American citizen. Price controls are counterproductive; they lead to shortages, black markets and inequities. *The libertarian alternative:* A free market economy, without government expansion of the money supply, without government deficit spending, without monopoly privileges for unions, without import quotas, tariffs and subsidies. The only freeze which is meaningful is to freeze taxes and government spending. (For additional comments on price controls, see *REASON's* editorial in the October 1971 issue, "The Wage-Price Freeze: Bold Action Against Free Enterprise.")
- **Mass Transit and Air Pollution.** *The statist kneejerk:* Government spending to construct and maintain transportation systems using buses, trains and subways, involving exclusive franchises to metropolitan transit authorities and private taxicab companies; and, for pollution control, government proposals to ban construction of new parking facilities, to require antipollution devices on vehicles, to ration gas, and to ultimately reduce or ban automobile travel. *The libertarian alternative:* To move towards a totally free market in urban transportation, including private ownership of roads and deregulation of taxis and jitneys, with use of the price system to allow imposition of user charges reflecting the market value of use of the roads at various times. Much of the problem of traffic congestion and auto exhaust pollution has developed because of an earlier statist kneejerk—the vast amounts of money spent by government to construct a highway system which does not impose user charges and treats scarce resources as free goods. If highways were privately owned (e.g., by oil companies, insurance companies, car manufacturers or Howard Johnson's), the pollution

(continued on page 40)

publisher's notes

• **IFRS, NOT IRS:** In the June issue of *REASON,* Publisher's Notes referred to Individuals for a Rational Society (formerly the New Right Coalition), and incorrectly listed its initials as IRS. In fact, the group is known as IFRS, so as to avoid confusion with an older, better-known organization. *REASON* apologizes for its error, and commends IFRS for its recent activities on behalf of libertarian principles.

This spring IFRS members have garnered excellent publicity in the Boston area, via appearances on TV talk shows and delivery of replies to broadcast editorials. Chairman Gordon Nelson's 5 April reply on WBZ-TV (condemning government welfare programs as legalized theft) drew the greatest listener response in the station's editorial history—so great (and apparently so sympathetic) that WBZ aired its own reply to Nelson's reply.

Those interested in learning more about IFRS can contact the organization at 330 Dartmouth Street, Boston, MA 02116.

• **VITAMIN BAN FOLLOWUP:** In *REASON's* June issue, an item in "Trends" discussed the FDA's campaign to seriously restrict the availability and potency of vitamin and mineral supplements. *REASON* has now learned that Rep. Craig Hosmer has introduced a second bill, HR 6044, cosponsored by a number of other Congressmen, which would amend the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to prohibit attempts by the FDA to ban the sale of truthfully labeled vitamin and mineral food supplements for reasons other than safety and fraud. *REASON* urges its readers to ask their Congressmen to support HR 6044.

• **THE CASTALIAN:** Last month, we announced the reorganization of *REASON's* poetry department, with Wendy McElroy as new poetry editor. We noted that Ms. McElroy also co-edits a literary quarterly, but misspelled the name of the magazine. Those who have enjoyed Ms. McElroy's poetry in *REASON* and are interested in obtaining the new quarterly may subscribe by sending $5 (one year) to *THE CASTALIAN,* P.O. Box 75182, Los Angeles, CA 75182.

• **SCHOOLS FIGHT THE STATE:** The Santa Fe (New Mexico) Community School is a private school which has filed suit to challenge the regulation of non-public schools by the State Board of Education. This case is now on appeal to the New Mexico Supreme Court. One important outgrowth of the suit has been the recent formation of the National Association for the Legal Support of Alternative Schools (NALSAS), "to fight bureaucratic State harassment." NALSAS is intended to be a national information and legal services center to research, coordinate, and support legal actions involving nonpublic educational alternatives. Questions, problems, ideas, support and donations should be addressed to Ed Nagel, NALSAS Coordinator, Box 2241, Sante Fe, NM 87501 87501. (Please mention where you learned of this project.)

• **REASON ASSOCIATES:** We extend a warm welcome to the following new Reason Associates:

Sustaining Member: J. W. Sanders, Toronto, Ontario. *Supporting Member:* James Zikratch, Riverside, CA. *Regular Members:* E. R. Mauldin, Fort Worth, TX; Jane Hansen, Barrington, IL; Karl J. Bray, Salt Lake City, UT; James D. McCawley, Chicago, IL; Paul Hyer, Los Angeles, CA; David E. Long, Brookline, MA; Robert D. Kuhn, Lakewood, OH; Mike McMaster, Chilliwack, British Columbia.

The growth of Reason Associates helps cover the cost of *REASON's* promotional campaign aimed at nonlibertarians.

All Reason Associates receive a *membership card,* a handsome *membership certificate,* and a free one-year *gift subscription* (for the person or institution of your choice, e.g., your favorite library). In addition, *Regular Members* ($25/year) receive a free autographed copy of the Reason Press paperback edition of John Hospers' *LIBERTARIANISM,* while *Supporting Members* ($50/year) receive an autographed hardcover edition of *LIBERTARIANISM.* For *Sustaining Members* ($100/year), Reason Associates provides an exclusive *bound edition* of Volume III of *REASON* magazine. Also, all categories of Reason Associates are eligible for discounts on various books and pamphlets. If you have been considering joining Reason Associates, send in your check today!

• **NEW JOURNAL:** Volume 1, Number 1 of the *WASHINGTON AND LEE COMMERCE REVIEW,* has recently appeared, dated Winter 1973. Edited by William G. K. Merrill, the *REVIEW* is devoted to "the analysis of issues and trends in business, politics, and economics," from what appears to be an explicitly free-market, individualistic point of view. The initial issue includes a reprint of Murray Rothbard's classic "What Has Government Done to our Money?" Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell's now-famous memorandum of "The Attack on the American Free Enterprise System," a discussion of the totalitarian Presidential Executive Order 11490, and an article by Antony C. Sutton summarizing his research on western technology in the Soviet Union. The semi-annual review costs $5.00 per year, and is available from Box 215, Lexington, VA 24450.

• **LAW & LIBERTY PROJECT:** The Law & Liberty Project of the Institute for Humane Studies has been progressing in a variety of areas, under the direction of Davis Keeler. Using a strict definition of "libertarian" (as distinct from "traditional legal conservatives"), a directory of libertarian lawyers, law professors and law students has been compiled, with over 120 names listed so far. Fellowships and publications are also planned, and it is contemplated that a one-week short course for attorneys will be offered during the summer of 1974. For further information, contact Law & Liberty Project, Institute for Humane Studies, 1134 Crane St., Menlo Park, CA 94025.

• **SUBSCRIBER QUESTIONNAIRE:** We have included a subscriber questionnaire in this issue, on pages 35 and 36. We urge each subscriber to fill it out (anonymously) and return it (postage-paid) promptly.

• **COMING NEXT MONTH:** *REASON's* September issue will feature a thoughtful discussion by Professor John O. Nelson comparing the success of socialized economies in producing war goods with their failure in producing consumer goods. Other provocative articles and features are also scheduled for next month's issue, including Dennis Chase's analysis of the newspaper business and the revolutionary role played by *The Wall Street Journal.* If your subscription is up for renewal, extend it now and you'll be sure of receiving all of REASON's forthcoming issues—including an upcoming Special Issue on Ayn Rand.

SUBSCRIBER QUESTIONNAIRE

We at REASON *are very interested to learn what our readers think of the magazine. We would therefore greatly appreciate your taking the time to fill out this questionnaire and return it to us (no postage is required). In addition to giving us valuable feedback for use in improving* REASON, *your answers to some of the questions will give us vitally important data about our readership—data that will help us to attract more advertising. And advertising, as you may know, is the key to* REASON's *becoming financially viable, so that we can continue to publish in our present format without having to increase subscription rates. We urge you to answer the questionnaire and mail it to us promptly.*

1) How would you rate the following *REASON* features:

	Excellent/ Interesting	Good but Too Long	Fair	Boring	Don't Read It
Main articles					
Interviews					
Editorials					
Money column					
Science fiction column					
Trends column					
Reason Profile					
Publisher's Notes					
Libertarian Party Corresp.					
Foreign Correspondent					
Letters					
Book Review					
Movies					
Rudebarbs					
Poetry					
Classified ads					

2) How long have you been a *REASON* subscriber?
____ 6 months or less
____ up to a year
____ more than a year

3) What is your sex? ____ M; ____ F

4) Are you married? ____Yes; ____ No

5) What is your age group?
____ under 21 ____ 40-49
____ 21-29 ____ 50 or over
____ 30-39

6) How many people besides yourself generally read your copy of *REASON*?
____ none ____ 2 ____ 4
____ 1 ____ 3 ____ 5 or more

7) What is the highest level of your educational attainment?
____ High-school diploma
____ RN/AA/community college
____ BS/BA
____ MS/MA/MBA
____ PhD/MD/DDS/JD/LLB

8) What is your occupational category?
____ Student
____ Professional
____ Management/business
____ Skilled/technical
____ Creative/arts
____ Government/military
____ Labor
____ Other

9) Do you belong to one or more professional societies?
____ Yes; ____ No

10) What is your annual, pre-tax, household income? (Please leave blank if full-time student.)

_____

11) Do you own your own home or do you rent?
____ Own; ____ Rent

12) Have you ever subscribed to an investment advisory service? ____ Yes; ____ No

13) Have you ever purchased mining stocks, gold or silver coins, or other inflation-hedge investments? ____ Yes ____ No

14) How many books did you *read* during the past year?

____ 0-10 ____ 51-75
____ 11-25 ____ 76-100
____ 26-50 ____ over 100

15) Do you belong to one or more book clubs?

____ Yes; ____ No

16) How many paperback books did you *purchase* during the past year?

____ 0-10 ____ 26-50
____ 11-25 ____ over 50

17) How many hardcover books did you purchase during the past year?

____ 0-5 ____ 11-25
____ 6-10 ____ over 25

18) Do you belong to one or more record clubs?

____ Yes; ____ No

19) How many records or tapes did you purchase last year?

____ 0-5 ____ 11-25
____ 6-10 ____ over 25

20) Do you purchase and use vitamin supplements?

____ Yes; ____ No

21) Do you purchase and use health foods?

____ Yes; ____ No

22) Have you responded to a REASON classified ad in the last six months?

23) Have you responded to a REASON display advertisement in the last six months?

24) Which of the following periodicals do you read *regularly*?

____ ANALOG
____ ATLANTIC
____ BARRONS
____ BUSINESS WEEK
____ FORBES
____ FUTURIST
____ HARPERS
____ HUMAN EVENTS
____ INTELLECTUAL DIGEST
____ MS.
____ NATIONS BUSINESS
____ NATIONAL REVIEW
____ NEW REPUBLIC
____ NEW YORK MAGAZINE
____ NEW YORK REVIEW
____ NEW YORKER
____ PLAYBOY
____ PSYCHOLOGY TODAY
____ RAMPARTS
____ SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN
____ WALL STREET JOURNAL
____ WASHINGTON MONTHLY
____ WORLD
____ Others (please list)

We welcome any further comments you might wish to make about REASON (attach separate sheet if necessary).

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letters

KUDOS TO REASON

As a fan and writer of science fiction, I would like to say "thanks," "congrats," "kudos," etc. to *REASON* for John J. Pierce. "Science Fiction in Perspective" is a first-rate addition to an already fine magazine.

All of Pierce's columns have been very good, but being a Heinlein freak, the May piece tops 'em all for me. Two small nits though: Heinlein's interest in a scientific proof for personal immortality hardly mars his work (as for it being a "Middle American crotchet" . . . !?). In the case of *BEYOND THIS HORIZON* it was the extra spice for what, in my opinion, is one of his best works.

Nit 2: *FARNHAM'S FREEHOLD* a "dismal failure"? Hardly. FF is one of Heinlein's most exciting and entertaining books. At the same time, it is one of his most philosophically provocative, with a distinctly libertarian theme.

Karl T. Pflock
American Enterprise Institute
Washington, D.C.

MR. PIERCE replies: (a) The closest glimpse we get of Heinlein's vision of the Hereafter is in "The Traveller in Elephants"—*very, very* Middle American. That seems to be the kind of immortality he wants.

(b) I didn't think the immortality solution did *BEYOND THIS HORIZON* any good; I thought it was a cop-out.

(c) I didn't like the narcissism of the hero in *FARNHAM'S FREEHOLD,* particularly since he wasn't all that competent; nor the clumsy satire-by-inversion on the race problem; nor the gaggle of "supporting characters."

"ENVIRONMENTALISM" DEFENDED

I regret to inform you that Ronald E. Merrill ("The NEW Anti-science Movement," *REASON* January 1973) is dangerously confused. He looks around our democracy; notices popular hysteria over pollution, food additives and nuclear power; and concludes that the swelling criticism of technological endeavors is a formal anti-science movement under the bleeding heart guise of "environmentalism."

Mr. Merrill avoids the obvious in failing to recognize environmentalism as a movement from *within* the scientific community. Certainly such scholars as Garrett Hardin, Buckminster Fuller, Barry Commoner, Paul Ehrlich, Lamont Cole and many others can hardly be considered "anti" scientists—they are critical scientists, involved in controversies among themselves and others, as omniscience is a rare quality indeed.

Merrill makes the tragic error of adopting elitism when he views the rhetorical distortions of public controversy as a conspiracy—this is the old "expertise game" in which he chastises the public for failing to develop for themselves or yield to those who possess specialized technical abilities. Merrill himself commits several errors in tackling the diverse disciplines of environmental science; most notable being the reference to mercury poisoning—rather than industrial dumping, fossil fuel combustion is responsible for most of the mercury in the environment. This aerosol transport of heavy metals is a definite hazard to coastal eco-systems near dense urban areas—Merrill consistently (and erroneously) maintains such conditions to be harmless. He is equally negligent in stating the case that DDT is safe; the metabolic pathways of chlorinated hydrocarbon toxicity are hard to trace due to limited aqueous solubility—but persistence in the environment and correlation to species decline are serious observations which at least warrant caution and a search for alternatives. He also consistently misspells "Audubon."

It is almost amusing to plod through Merrill's extremely biased discussion of the dangers of bias—and find his conclusion to be correct. We most definitely need to divorce science from politics. But Mr. Merrill, it appears, also wants to divorce science from intelligence. He does not realize that Frankensteins have in the past and will continue to be discovered—it's an occupational hazard—and human beings who consider themselves scientists must make decisions that other human beings will have to live with. A laboratory and notebook doth not a god elect.

Mark Ross
Associate Editor
Environmental Quality Magazine
North Hollywood, CA

MR. MERRILL replies: Passing over various *ad hominem* attacks, I find that some of Mr. Ross's statements merit answer. I did not discuss the aerosol transport of metals such as mercury at all, and thus could not very well have maintained that it was harmless. (Incidentally, at present prices one does not "dump" mercury, any more than one would "dump" gold.) I have checked over my article carefully and fail to find any statement which could have led anyone to believe that I said "DDT is safe". What I *did* say is that DDT use is far preferable to any of the alternatives available at present. I must plead guilty to misspelling "Audubon"; I promise not to do it again.

I find that I disagree with Mr. Ross in defining "scientist". To me, a scientist is someone who does research. A person who devotes his full time to propaganda is a propagandist, and if that propaganda is anti-science, then his academic credentials or past research accomplishments—if any—are irrelevant. Mr. Ross's description of scientists as people who "make decisions" is also wide of the mark. Decisions in this country, as elsewhere, are made on political grounds, by politicans, usually overruling scientific advice.

Finally, I must comment on the charge of "elitism". I fail to see that it is elitist to advise the public that they should not blindly follow the leadership of a self-appointed elite and that they should instead acquire the competence to make their own decisions. Indeed, I would claim that it is the environmentalist establishment which is guilty. A system under which ghetto residents are taxed to provide wilderness areas for the upper-class members of the Sierra Club, and migrant farm workers are poisoned by parathion so that the brown pelican will

Find the coupon in this ad. Clip it. Jot your name and address in the margin. Mail to the League. You will receive information relevant to libertarians.

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reason profile

EDWARD E. CLARK

Among the different approaches taken by those who seek to achieve freedom, political action is increasingly becoming a desirable means. An individual who has worked within the two-party system and now is a leading force in Libertarian Party politics is Edward E. Clark.

Clark is a bright, soft-spoken attorney who is deeply committed to personal freedom. He received his B.A. from Dartmouth College in 1952 and graduated from Harvard Law School in 1957. Clark is employed as associate general counsel for a major oil company, which recently transplanted its headquarters from New York to Los Angeles.

Until August 1971, Clark had been an active Republican and a supporter of economic freedom. He vividly recalls being in Dallas and hearing Nixon's speech imposing wage/price controls. Upon hearing Nixon's program, Clark decided that he had not left the Republican Party, but the Republican Party had left him. So, being politically motivated, he began to look for a libertarian home.

After Nixon's speech, Clark found out about the Society for Individual Liberty, and became a member. He subscribed to *REASON* and other libertarian journals, then encountered other real-life libertarians for the first time at a Libertarian conference in New York City in fall of 1971. This led Clark to becoming chairman of the embryonic Free Libertarian Party of New York, and his involvement in national Libertarian Party politics.

Clark lives with his attractive wife, Alicia, in the Silverlake area of Los Angeles. He enjoys reading and traveling, and, in addition to publishing various legal articles, has two unpublished spy stories. Clark strongly endorses libertarian political activities as a good means of achieving libertarianism. In addition he promotes such means as education, libertarian professional societies (for doctors, lawyers, etc.), and—as the best way of spreading ideas—speaking to the media as much as possible.

Clark has excellent skills in organizing and building a political organization from the ground up. In addition to being a founder of New York's Free Libertarian Party, he is presently Vice President of the National Libertarian Party as well as Chairman of the Libertarian Party of California. Clark also served as co-campaign chairman of *REASON* editor Manuel Klausner's unique campaign for Congress last year.

Clark's abilities and hard work in the cause of libertarianism have rendered significant contributions to the growth of the Libertarian Party, and to the cause of freedom.

be preserved from DDT extinction to provide edification for bourgeois bird-watchers, certainly would seem to merit the epithet "elitist".

8 CANDIDATES IN NYC

We very much appreciate Ed Crane's feature article on our first state convention [*REASON,* June 1973], but would like to make some additions/corrections.

We elected a Secretary as part of our Executive Committee: Mike Nichols (the computer specialist, not the director). We endorsed a total of 8 candidates this year: as well as Fran Youngstein, Bill Lawry and Tom Avery for city-wide office, the convention endorsed Gary Greenberg for Manhattan District Attorney, Lou Sicilia for Manhattan Borough President, Paul Streitz for Manhattan Councilman-at-Large, Ray Goldfield for Brooklyn Councilman, and Spencer Pinney for Queens Councilman. We expect our full range of candidates, with their geographical distribution, to give the Free Libertarian Party a tremendous amount of exposure, both to the media and to voters.

Since the office for which Sanford Cohen is running is not available until 1974, we of course could not endorse him this year. Sandy has announced his candidacy for the 25th Congressional seat (Poughkeepsie) and will request our endorsement at next year's convention.

I feel the LP News page is a valuable addition to an already valuable magazine, and look forward to future reports.

Andrea Millen
Chairperson
Free Libertarian Party
New York, NY

VIET CONG ATROCITIES

Murray Rothbard's accounting for Viet Cong atrocities is in error (*REASON* interview, February 1973). I do not speak from a vacuum. I am a former USMC officer and a Vietnam veteran. I am not a member of "the 'kept' press." My views are independently derived.

I submit that the VC systematically, methodically, in cold-blood, utilized terror and murder as a form of psycho-political control over villagers.

I submit that the VC were deadly manifestations of religiosity, racism, barbarism, and cruelty, traits which are a consequence of faith and allegiance to tribal, collectivistic religions, ideologies, and political systems.

In Vietnam, life is cheap. And life is cheap, in part, because of VC ideology. I offer the following as evidence:

(1) The VC perforated the eardrums of school children, or split their tongues. The goal was to discourage attendance and support for Saigon-run schools.

(2) The Da Nang air base and the surrounding populated area were serviced by Vietnamese "ice-men." For nearly a year a 13 year old boy sold ice and soft drinks on a street adjacent to the base. He became a fixture; a sight to be trusted. During the heat of the day Americans and Vietnamese would purchase his products. One day, after a suitable crowd had gathered, the boy reached under his shirt and detonated a crude bomb. All those in close proximity to the boy were killed or wounded. The deaths included the boy and his Vietnamese neighbors. Here, the object was to teach Vietnamese that Americans could not offer continuous protection.

(3) Transformation of boys into human

bombs was merely one tactic. Another was to use boys as probes or protective shields behind which more experienced and efficient combatants could advance. Moreover, this tactic was a form of psy-warfare. In terms of morale, the death of a boy could have a disastrous effect. A decrease in morale could lead to one's own death. One night, during Operation Prairie at Dong Ha, Marine units were forced to fight hand-to-hand. The NVA and VC had attacked using "human wave" assaults. The fighting was intense and lasted throughout the night. At daybreak Marines discovered that a significant portion of first-wave enemy dead were boys recruited and forced into service by local VC units. At the thought of having killed young boys many Marines sat down and cried.

(4) VC conscription was not, of course, limited to major operations. Throughout Vietnam the VC forcibly took pre-teens and teens from their parents, although these victims were primarily used as a source of labor rather than as combatants.

(5) It is true that in many areas the VC enjoyed village support and encouragement. Yet, there were "Viet Cong villagers" where the VC were known as confiscators and at best a lesser evil. In these villages, if voluntary contributions in rice and other foods were not forthcoming, the VC simply took what they needed. And it was the unfortunate village farmer that dared resistance.

(6) The VC did not merely "wipe out" government appointed chiefs. There were instances where the official's wife and children were dragged out, publicly executed, and intestines thrown to the pigs.

(7) In preparation for the 1968 Tet offensive, the VC practiced rocket attacks upon the Da Nang air field. Most of these rockets never reached the air strip. Instead, the rockets exploded in the populated areas.

(8) On one humid morning, approximately ten miles east of Dai Loc, a busload of old men, women and children met sudden death upon the explosion of a VC roadmine. These people were on their way to the Da Nang markets. Twelve died that day.

(9) Alongside Highway 1, a few miles south of Hue, a primitive shack became the home of four prostitutes. Their clients were South Vietnamese soldiers since Marines were strictly forbidden to pay these women a visit. One night, the VC threw grenades into the shack. All four were killed. The youngest was twelve years old. The oldest was seventeen. They were as innocent as any war zone child forced to steal for food. . . .

Libertarians should not perpetuate the myth that Hanoi through its VC representatives is a benevolent, freedom-loving government. However, in terms of fundamentals, Saigon is as despotic as Hanoi. And the South Vietnamese soldier can be as cruel as the VC.

Echoing the thought of David Shoup, former Commandant of the USMC, Vietnam was not worth the blood of a single American (*NEWSWEEK*, 29 November 1971, p. 11). Our government sacrificed 45,943 Americans in the name of servitude to God, Christ, the State and/or the "world peace" of barbaric philosophies. Yet, it is no less barbaric to imply that the VC were noble liberators worthy of a libertarian defense.

Warren Vining III
Anaheim, CA

AID FOR NURSES

I am working to accomplish *repeal* of two laws (which complement each other) in California. These laws establish a council to set the standards and empower the State Board of Nurse Examiners to require proof of continuing education before renewal of the RN & LVN license will be granted.

Do you think that an article on the state's right to do this could be developed? I would like to enlist the aid of fellow libertarians in this endeavor.

Gail Meredith
1600 Grasscreek Dr.
San Dimas, CA 91773

CONCRETE DREAM LXIX

a tide rushes past her skirt;
the moon sifts in her eyes;
dawn springs loose in her stomach,
as I ride the purple dust,
being alone with clock-knowledge,
wondering where her planet-self is—
I lost her in the weeds
on the dark side of the world,
and my taste for her is now
in the pine needles of doom.
There is a map of her in my mind
as I gather all those endless
flesh needles and weave them
into her planet-being.

Guy R. Beining

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(continued from page 33)

resulting from traffic on a particular highway could be readily measurable and its cost imposed on the highway owner, who could pass it along to highway users in the form of tolls or license fees. Private ownership of roads may be a long way off, but an immediate, dramatic effect could be achieved by *deregulation of taxis and jitneys,* thus allowing maximum flexibility and reduced costs for urban travel. (For an informative discussion of the benefits of a free market in urban transportation, and the political obstacles to effective reform, see Sandi Rosenbloom's significant article, "Taxis and Jitneys: The Case for Deregulation" in the Feburary 1972 issue of *REASON.* And a useful explanation of allocation of scarce goods by the price system is contained in Professor Michael Levine's article, "The Airport Crisis and How To Solve It," in the April 1973 issue of *REASON.*

• **Automobile Accident Compensation.** *The statist kneejerk:* No-fault automobile insurance, which superimposes on the existing legal system a mandatory form of medical and disability insurance coverage, which provides for identical treatment for negligent and innocent motorists, which decreases the cost of auto insurance for some while it increases it for others, and which (under some no-fault proposals) eliminates the right of a disabled, innocent accident victim to recover for impairment of earning capacity and for pain and suffering caused by the accident, and which further extends governmental control over private insurance companies. *The libertarian alternative:* To retain the legal rule requiring compensation to innocent accident victims by those who are negligent (the principle of "liability for fault"), with reliance on the market to allow individuals to voluntarily purchase whatever insurance coverage they desire, including the presently available coverage for medical and disability claims. The fact that attorneys benefit from the system of liability for fault is not in and of itself a reason to retreat from a market approach in favor of compulsory no-fault insurance. It has been argued that under the present system, injured claimants frequently receive a higher *net* recovery when represented by counsel than otherwise; if this is so, insurance companies are not paying the "market value" of injuries (as determined by judges and juries), and it is inappropriate to complain about the percentage of the recovery which is retained by the victim's attorney. It is likely that in a totally free society, with private ownership of highways, more satisfactory means of dealing with the consequences of automobile accidents would evolve, but at present, compulsory no-fault insurance is no more desirable than compulsory social security legislation.

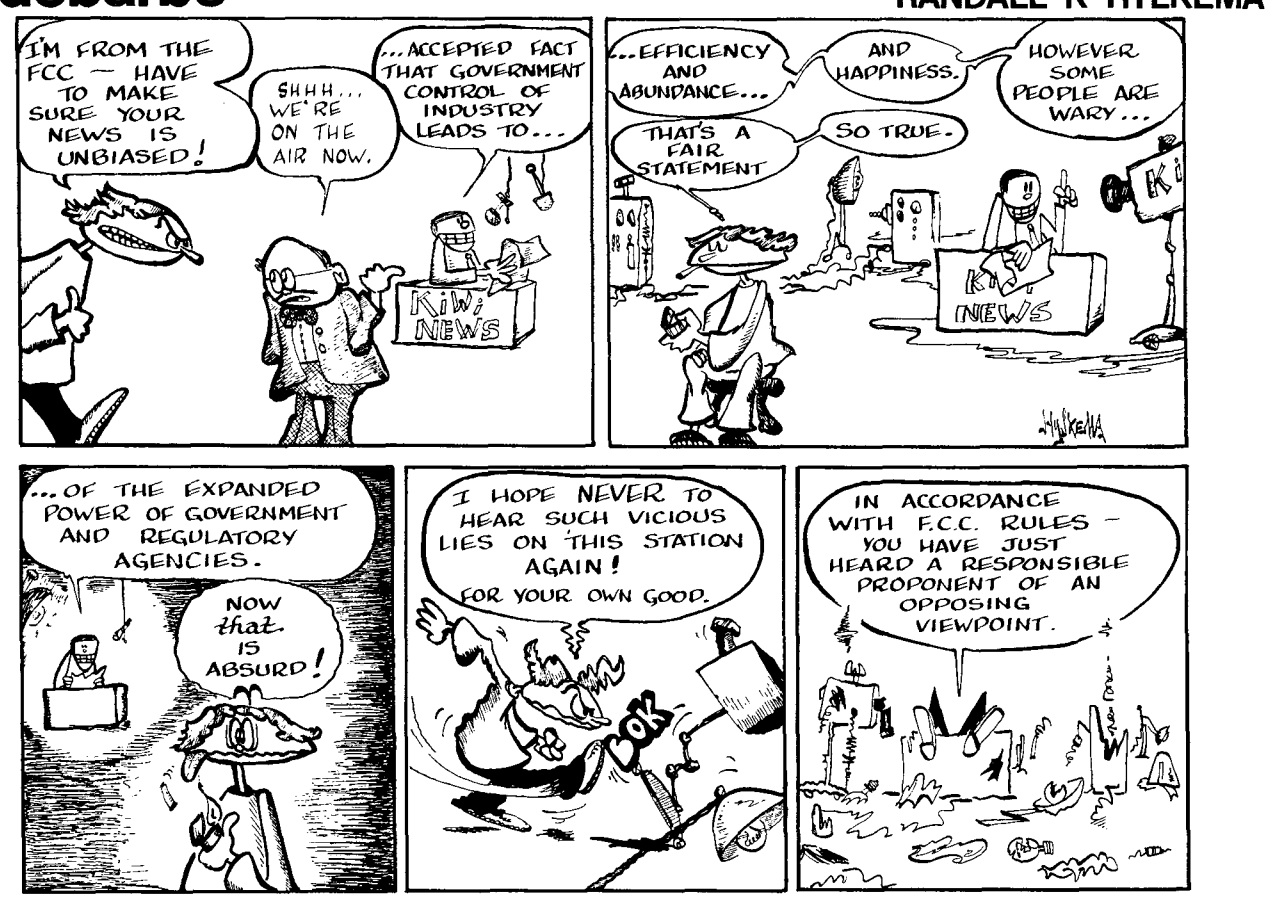
• **Airline Hijacking.** *The statist kneejerk:* To impose compulsory searches of all airline passengers to deter a minimal number of skyjackings, with costs paid out of general tax revenues, thus falling on user and non-user alike. *The libertarian alternative:* To allow the free market to operate—without CAB price controls—leaving to each airline the decision to require or not require searches of their passengers, at a cost borne by each airline, and leaving to airline passengers the option of selecting an airline providing maximum security against skyjacking *or* an airline which emphasizes comfort over security, without imposing time-consuming searches of all passengers.

* * *

The case for a free market can be argued on both moral and utilitarian grounds. Since many people do not accept the fundamental libertarian premises of freedom and non-coercion, it is important that libertarians be prepared to discuss utilitarian considerations applicable to current problems. And if statism is to be rejected, maximum exposure must be given to innovative libertarian alternatives.

rudebarbs

RANDALL K HYLKEMA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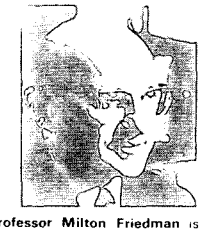
Henry Hazlitt is the author of ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS", THE FREE MAN'S LIBRARY, TIME WILL RUN BACK, WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT INFLATION and seven other books. He has contributed articles to the NEW YORK TIMES, THE AMERICAN MERCURY, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, NEWSWEEK and many other publications.

Professor Murray Rothbard is a prolific author as well as economic analyst and scholar. His books include AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION, POWER AND MARKET, MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE and WHAT HAS GOVERNMENT DONE TO OUR MONEY? Dr. Rothbard has contributed articles to six other books and to the NEW YORK TIMES, INTELLECTUAL DIGEST, THE FREEMAN, HUMAN EVENTS, QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW and dozens of other publications.



Professor Milton Friedman is author of CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM, A PROGRAM FOR MONETARY STABILITY, DOLLARS AND DEFICITS and A MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, as well as dozens of articles in scholarly and popular publications around the world. He writes a regular economics column for NEWSWEEK.

Leonard Read is President of the Foundation for Economic Education. He is the author of THE FREE MARKET AND ITS ENEMY, ELEMENTS OF LIBERTARIAN LEADERSHIP, LET FREEDOM REIGN and eight other noted books about freedom and the free market.

Professor Percy Greaves has contributed articles to six books including ON FREEDOM AND FREE ENTERPRISE and ON LIBERTY. He has written for the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, THE FREEMAN and numerous other publications.

W.M. Curtiss is author of THE TARIFF IDEA, and Executive Secretary of The Foundation for Economic Education.

Paul Poirot is author of THE PENSION IDEA and Editor of THE FREEMAN.

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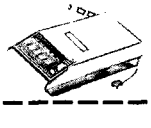

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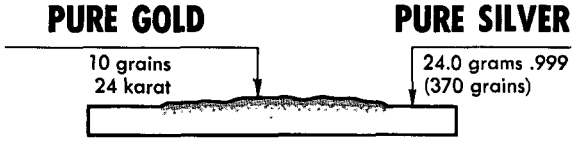
AN HISTORIC FIRST

The obverse features a sculptured bust of the ancient goddess Minerva in brilliant **PURE GOLD (24K)** against a background and lettering in **PURE SILVER (.999).** Don't confuse this with common gold plating. It is one amazing piece of metal — constructed so that the high bas-relief figure is in 24 Karat Pure Gold. Each Gold Relief coin is individually struck at The Letcher Mint and is a result of the latest space-age developments in gold metallurgy and four years of research in the Letcher Mint laboratories.



The Pure Silver reverse displays the "Torch of Freedom" in frosted relief against a mirror-like background. The coin will be shipped to you with a very special holder for secure storage or proper display. Actual size of coin is 1.53 in diameter.

REPUBLIC OF MINERVA

A NEW NATION—A NEW COIN!
Hardly more than one year old, the Republic of Minerva is situated 400 miles south of Fiji at 23° 40' South Latitude and 179 West Longitude. This "Free Enterprise" state is set up as a constitutional republic where government is limited to protection of its citizens against force and fraud, and cannot engage in commercial activities. Prior to its occupation on January 19, 1972, North and South Minerva Reefs were below sea level at high tide and remained unclaimed by any nation. The founders of the present government carried out a land fill project to raise parts of the two reefs above high tide and in accordance with International Law proclaimed a new and independent nation. The new Republic endeavors to live in peace with other nations and is dedicated to the purpose of extending freedom, tranquility and knowledge to its inhabitants under a Republican system of government. A bold plan of landfill and sea wall development is proposed in order to provide sufficient area around the lagoons to support a city of 30,000 people. During 1972 Minerva was forcibly invaded by the King of Tonga. The Minervians have been forced to set up a government in exile until the conflict is settled. The government has authorized the striking and distribution of this limited edition of Gold Relief $35.00 denomination coins to be sold at their face value by The Letcher Mint, the West's largest private mint.

OFFICIAL ORDER FORM

Minerva Coin
C/O The Letcher Mint
P.O. Box 107
Lancaster, California 93534

Please accept my order for _____ Limited Issue Minerva Coins @ $35.00, each in pure gold and pure silver to be shipped post paid to the following address. Enclosed is my remittance of $_____ U.S. Funds. I understand that my money will be promptly refunded if you are unable to fill my order. Limit: 10 per customer.

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ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

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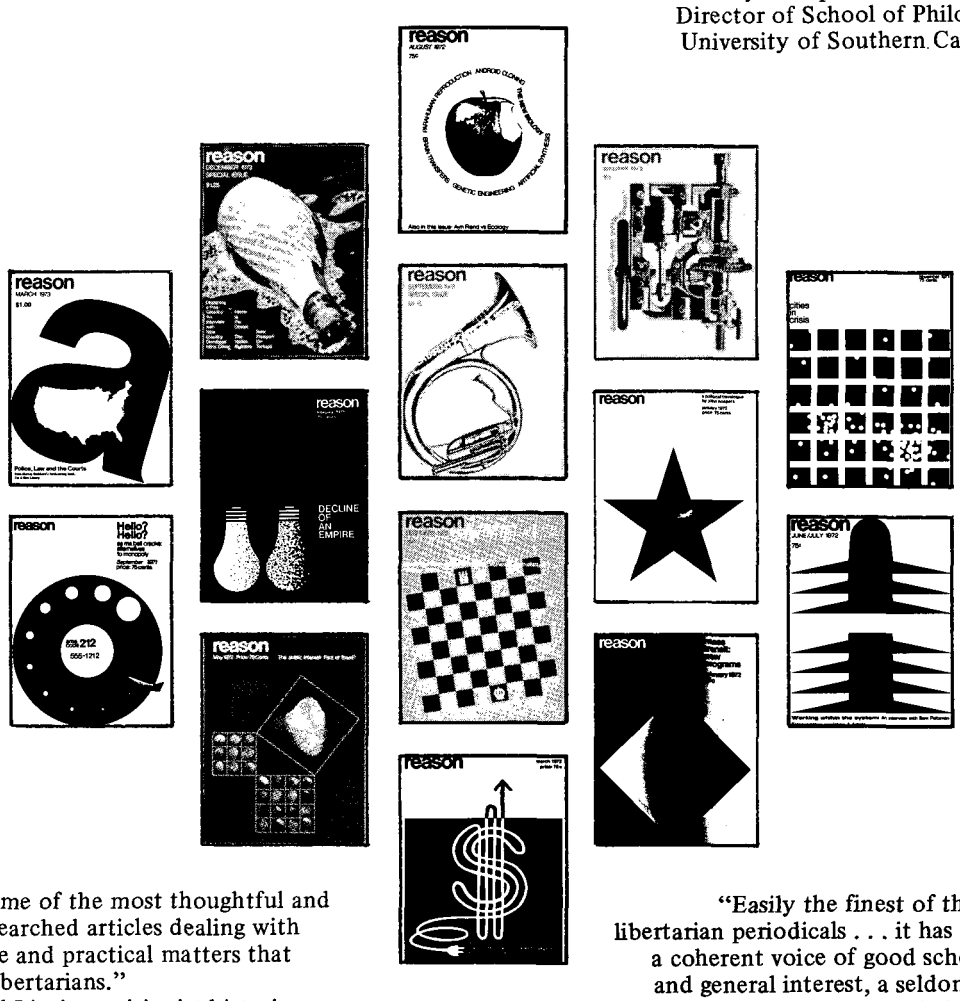

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